

INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong is a small but densely populated city with a population of about seven million. In this small region, over 28,000 people are reported to be learning Japanese, the ninth highest in the world¹. Although it is readily apparent that Hong Kong is experiencing a great Japanese influence on food, fashion, entertainment and life-style², it is not very clear whether this is the main reason for the popularity of Japanese learning.

The development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong has been described by scholars and Japanese educators³. Yet, in many cases, the description focuses on a particular area, such as tertiary education, or a particular time like the period under the Japanese occupation. Therefore a thorough examination of Japanese studies in the region has not been carried out. It seems there would be great value in investigating the development in detail and analyzing the background.

A study of Hong Kong's history would appear to reveal particular characteristics of the local people. In this thesis, the investigation focuses on three elements which are predominant in Hong Kong people's mentality, namely 'insecurity', 'pragmatism' and 'flexibility'. These characteristics are likely to have been strongly influenced by the complex Hong Kong background as a British colony and once as a Japanese occupied territory before returning to China.

This thesis then examines how the demand for Japanese studies emerged and grew in the history of Hong Kong. From the time Hong Kong was established as a British colony in the mid-nineteenth century until the 1950s when Hong Kong was struggling to

¹ The Japan Foundation (2011)

² As evidenced by the abundance of Japanese restaurants, boutiques of Japanese fashion brands, dubbed Japanese TV programs and readily available CDs of Japanese pop songs, shops selling Japanese or Japan-designed goods, and fashion/life-style magazines.

³ For example, Hara (1988), Hara (2000), Chen, Zhichen (1995), Chen, Zhichen (2005), Miyazoe-Wong (2002), etc.

recover from the devastation caused by the World War II, very little demand for Japanese studies was observed. It is defined as the Period of Low Demand. The daily life of Hong Kong people and the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong society will be looked into in order to analyze the factors affecting the lack of demand.

The following three decades, from the 1960s to the 1980s, are the Period of Growth of Demand. It was during this period that significant changes occurred in the development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. The emergence of demand will be examined from the perspectives of an increasing Japanese presence as well as the improvements in living standard of Hong Kong people. How Japanese courses started in different sectors, including private language schools, community services sector or tertiary institutions, will be described. Then the growth of demand especially from the mid-1970s will be examined against the background that caused the growth.

The present period from the 1990s is defined as the Period of Expansion of Demand. Following the growing demand from the previous period, the demand for Japanese studies has shown different characteristics. New types of demand have emerged and this has added new elements to the provision of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. It will be investigated what new features came to be recognized and what background supported the emergence of new demand. The presence of Japanese will again play an important role in the expansion of demand. At the same time, a change in people's mentality will be seen as another factor contributing to the development.

This thesis thus characterizes each of these different periods through the detailed description of development of Japanese studies. It then analyzes how and to what extent, the mentality of Hong Kong people contributed to forming the characteristics. This thesis requires reviewing historical facts and data in order to examine the Hong Kong mentality and the aforementioned characteristics. This project is therefore an archival research. Archival materials are important sources of information and they provide adequate

material for the thesis. Archival sources include the Hong Kong Government Reports Online (1842-1941) and Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR) which provide rich data regarding, particularly, official documents of Hong Kong and Japan. Other important sources of data include newspapers which were published in the pre-World War II era and during the wartime.

Lastly, in this thesis, the term “Japanese studies” is used in a broad sense, including the study of Japan, the study of Japanese language at different levels and the academic study of Japan-related disciplines such as political science, economics, history, social science, and the like. However, reflecting the situation in Hong Kong, the term “Japanese studies” in the analysis in Parts II to IV of this thesis has a predominant focus on the study of Japanese language.

PART I: HONG KONG MENTALITY

The following chapters will explore three factors which could have contributed to the formation of the unique Hong Kong mentality. First, the impact of the British colonization of Hong Kong on local people's minds; second, to what extent the relationship with China has contributed to the formation of Hong Kong mentality; and lastly, the influence of historical factors, such as changes in administration, wars, or conflicts involving Britain and China, will be examined.

Chapter 1 Colonial Factors

In this chapter, the Hong Kong mentality defined as “insecure”, “pragmatic” and “flexible” is examined with a particular focus on the British colonization of Hong Kong and colonial influences on people's lives. Attention will also be drawn to the fact that local people endured certain hardships under the colonial rule, which contributed much to the creation of the Hong Kong mentality.

Hong Kong was originally a tiny island with a relatively small population of less than 10,000 local Chinese engaged in fishing, agriculture, and maritime trading⁴, when Britain declared sovereignty over it in 1841. It was as a result of the Britain's victory over China in the First Opium War. Hong Kong formally became a British colony in 1843 with the Treaty of Nanking. The Kowloon peninsula was later ceded in 1860 after the Second Opium War, followed by a lease of the New Territories in 1898 for a period of 99 years. Until Britain's handover of the sovereignty to China in 1997, Hong Kong had been a colony for over 150 years. This peculiar situation of Hong Kong, which can be described

⁴ Simpson (2007) p.170

as “colonization and decolonization without independence”, would certainly have had an influence on the formation of the Hong Kong mentality.

It would be natural to assume that the status of Hong Kong as a colony had a great impact on the creation of a particular mentality since a unique colonial mentality has been observed in European colonies in general⁵. It is argued in that context that colonised peoples often feel inferior to their colonial masters⁶. However, whether this is applicable to the Hong Kong situation needs to be investigated. Actually, it does not seem to apply to Hong Kong at the first look at the 1990s. For instance, by then Hong Kong’s GDP had overtaken Britain’s⁷, with an accompanying decrease in the Hong Kong middle class’s attitude of looking up to English society⁸. However, given that the emergence of a Hong Kong identity only came about in the 1970s⁹, there must have existed a colonial mentality prior to that. This is explained on the grounds that the link between the entirely-Western Hong Kong government and local people was weak until the 1970s, when the political situation drastically changed. Although some of the Chinese elite members were appointed to consultative committees, their background was of course very much more Western than Chinese, and even different from many of the Chinese wealthy class who had received Chinese traditional education and were non-English speaking.

The first appointment of a Chinese resident to the Legislative Council actually dates back as early as the 1880s¹⁰. Nevertheless, because the British government feared that it might lose the control of the colony by expanding the appointments of Chinese representatives, the number was kept minimal¹¹. This means that the colonial government, which consisted mostly of British expatriates, controlled the local Chinese who accounted

⁵ Mannoni (1956)

⁶ Faure (2003) p.9

⁷ Chan (2007) p.387

⁸ Faure (2003) p.11

⁹ Ibid., p.21

¹⁰ MacPherson (1997) pp.281-282

¹¹ Ibid.

for over 95 per cent of the total population¹². The fact that the local Chinese people were excluded from politics would have promoted an inferior feeling of being neglected by the colonial rulers. It can also be considered that this was closely connected with an insecure feeling of Hong Kong people. Having been involved very little in local politics, people did not have any control over government, which would have further increased insecurity. In other words, people's feeling of being inferior to the ruled group strengthened their feeling of insecurity since they were not directly involved in local matters which had direct influence over their daily lives.

The standard of living of the local Chinese in the early years of the colony was appallingly low. The Chinese community of Hong Kong grew over ten times from a population of 7,500 in 1841 to 85,300 in 1859¹³. The economic growth at that time, however, could not guarantee an adequate living standard in the community with the influx of people into Hong Kong from the mainland. While the vast majority of Hong Kong's officials and senior business leaders were expatriates from ruling Britain, most of the local Chinese endured extremely low living conditions. Even the numerically limited Chinese middle class could not enjoy the same living standard as the British middle class¹⁴. Some Chinese residents were so poor and their standard of living so low that a spell in prison for them was a boon rather than a punishment¹⁵.

An indication of the poor living conditions at that time can be deduced from the boat population. One of the oldest records reveals that the boat population accounted for 2,100 out of the total population of about 12,000 in 1842, just one year after Britain's declaration of sovereignty over Hong Kong¹⁶. It was the largest occupational category at that time and the number grew dramatically during the following decade. Of the total

¹² Tsang (2004) p.24

¹³ Cameron (1991) p.58, Tsang (2004) p.59

¹⁴ Tsang (2004) p.63

¹⁵ Endacott (1964) p.36

¹⁶ The Friend of China and Hong Kong Gazette, 24 March 1842

population of about 75,000 in 1858, for example, over 21,000 were Chinese boat population in Victoria Harbour and other locations¹⁷. This rose further to 30,500 out of the total population of 124,800 in 1863¹⁸. Due to the great increase in the overall population of Hong Kong during these years, the percentage of boat population appeared to have decreased. In fact, although the boat population itself decreased to about 22,000 after 5 years in 1868, about 20 per cent of the population still could not afford to live on land¹⁹. Little improvement was seen even in 1881, when there were about 29,000 people recorded as boat population among the total of 160,000²⁰ (Figure 1.1).

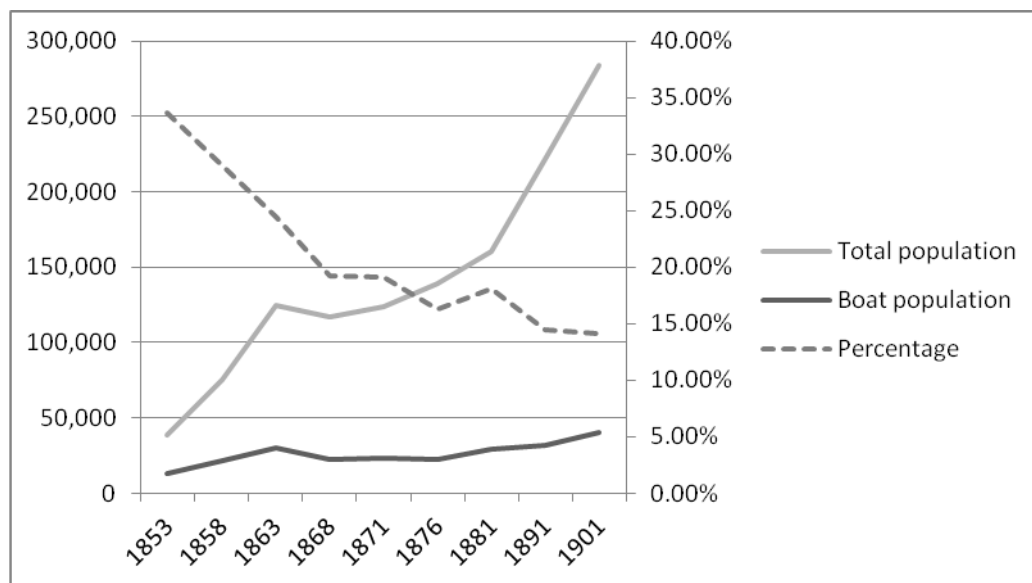


Figure 1.1: Boat population in colonial Hong Kong (1). (Data from the Census reports in the Hong Kong Government Gazette)

Obviously, a majority of the boat population is considered to have been engaged in fishing. However, taking into consideration the fact that the boat population included a large number of children, it may be assumed that the living standard of these families on boats was far from satisfactory. By way of illustration, the life of the boat population of

¹⁷ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 6 May 1871

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 11 June 1881

that time was described by a British government official who visited Hong Kong in 1856.

An immense number of people in all Chinese waters, but especially at Canton, live entirely in junks and sampans, even in very small ones; as in a space which would appear impracticable to ourselves, whole families of three generations sometimes, even mothers-in-law, finding sufficient accommodation for every purpose in life. They are born, marry, and die afloat²¹.

A description of Hong Kong in 1858 also related that many thousands of Chinese of the lowest class lived in small boats with their wives and children²². These descriptions prove that the life on boats, which was still commonly seen, was not a comfortable one.

People living on boats were also at higher risk of injury or death from natural disasters. A typhoon in 1874 was reported to have destroyed a considerable number of the junk population, which was estimated as as many as four to five thousand including many women and children²³. Knowing that a single typhoon had brought that level of tragedy, it is easy to imagine how hard and insecure the life of the boat population was. As the boat population made up a significant portion of the total Chinese population, their concerns and worries about the life under the colonial government could be representative of those of the Chinese citizens in general.

The number of people living on boats was still on the rise at the turn of the century, although there was a gradual improvement by then in terms of the percentage of the boat people in the total population as Figure 1.2 indicates. The boat population in the middle of the nineteenth century accounted for 33 per cent of the population, but after half a century,

²¹ Norman (1902) p.85

²² Scherzer (1862) p.356

²³ Governor's Report on Blue Book 1880

it decreased to 13 per cent, then to below 10 percent in the 1930s.

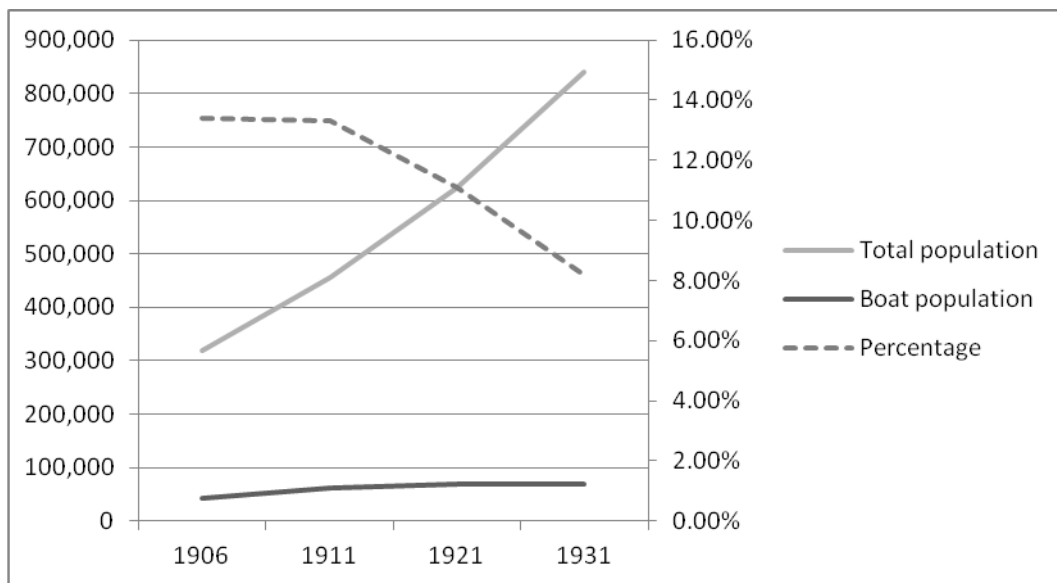


Figure 1.2: Boat population in colonial Hong Kong (2). (Data from Census Reports for 1911, 1921 and 1931)

This would not, however, lead to a simple conclusion that the living standard of the Chinese also improved in general, given a dramatic increase in the total population. As this was mainly the result of the growth of the Chinese population due to the influx of people from the mainland, the sudden growth of population caused crowded living conditions and made Hong Kong people's life tougher.

In contrast, the British, and Europeans in general, lived a far more comfortable life. They lived in spacious houses with servants, and enjoyed many privileges specifically given to them. A British writer who landed on Hong Kong Island in 1858 described in his diary the warm welcome he received. He was taken to the Hong Kong Club, where he got 'a charming bedroom at the north-east corner of the building – large and airy, with a pleasant look-out, commanding the harbour in front²⁴'. The Hong Kong Club, established in 1845, was an important social institution for establishing and maintaining relations among the dominant social classes, and its membership was restricted to Europeans only²⁵.

²⁴ Smith (1859) p.23

²⁵ Bremner & Lung (2003) p.232

This exemplifies the discriminatory nature of the colonial society against the Chinese, which will be further described later. He was also invited to ‘a very charming house and garden, with thick foliage over the walks, and a rill of water gurgling through the grounds, with an open bathing-place, surrounded by cane and matting²⁶. From these facts, it may easily be inferred how well Europeans lived in Hong Kong, something local Chinese could never afford. The huge gap in the living standard between the Chinese and Europeans brought a colonial mentality to Hong Kong people.

Hong Kong, as a colony, was governed by only a small number of British officials who had no knowledge of the Chinese language and almost no knowledge of the fundamentals of Chinese beliefs and customs²⁷. Under colonial rule, even the law that was exercised in Hong Kong was discriminatory against the Chinese. Originally, the concept was applied that the English law would be best for governing, promoting trade, protecting the British, and simultaneously controlling the colonized Chinese people²⁸. On the other hand, there were concerns that the facially neutral principles of English law could be too just and too fair for colonialism²⁹.

In order to address these British concerns, two legal systems were implemented, one for the colonized and one for the colonizers, which came into effect in the colony of Hong Kong. Hence while the law of England was in full force in the colony of Hong Kong, Chinese offenders were punished according to the laws of China³⁰. In other words, Chinese customs and laws prevailed over British ones for matters involving Chinese citizens. What motivated the implementation of the dual legal system was rather practical considerations by the British authorities. The idea that the Chinese law would be applied to criminal cases committed by the Chinese was not really motivated out of concern to respect Chinese

²⁶ Smith (1859) p.34

²⁷ Cameron (1991) pp.41-42

²⁸ Marcks (2000) p.268

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Section 3, Ordinance No.15 of 1844

autonomy and traditions. It was mainly because of the Hong Kong authorities' belief that British punishment was too lenient to prevent the Chinese from committing crimes³¹. As a result, there appeared a complex situation in which British courts had jurisdiction over the Chinese, and Chinese customary law, as interpreted by British courts, served to adjudicate disputes among Chinese, while British criminal law judged and Chinese criminal law punished the Chinese³². The paradox is that in general the Chinese, once on the island of Hong Kong, were considered subjects of the Queen/King of England and therefore British law prevailed over them³³.

The dual legal system, however, contained a number of difficulties for the Chinese. First of all, due to the lack of interpreters, the Chinese did not understand the legal proceedings. In 1849, for example, the only interpreter in criminal cases was also the Joint Superintendent for Police³⁴. What happened was, therefore, that he often served as the main witness against the defendant for whom he also interpreted. Second, Chinese defendants rarely had counsel as very few were available, and they were costly³⁵. Furthermore, there were no Chinese jurors until the first Chinese name appeared in 1858 in the Jury List³⁶. Under such circumstances, fair treatment for Chinese defendants could not be expected.

This complexity led to the enforcement of discriminatory regulations applied to Chinese citizens. For example, they were forbidden to go out at night unless bearing a night pass, in which case too they were required to carry lanterns to show their presence³⁷.

Any Chinaman found at large elsewhere than in his own habitation between

³¹ Marcks (2000) p.274

³² Ibid., p.275

³³ Bremner & Lung (2003) pp.225-226

³⁴ Marcks (2000) p.277

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 27 February 1858

³⁷ Cameron (1991) p.64, Bremner & Lung (2003) p.226, Tsang (2004) pp.47-48

the hours of eight in the evening and sunrise, and not having a pass duly issued ..., shall be summarily punished by any Justice of the Peace for every such offence, either by a fine not exceeding fifty dollars nor less than fifty cents, or by imprisonment and hard labour for a term not exceeding fourteen days nor less than one day....³⁸

This was later revised as not 'lawful for any Chinese (without reasonable excuse, the proof of which shall lie upon him) to be at large within the city of Victoria, between the hour of 9 in the evening and sunrise without a pass'³⁹. Furthermore, all Chinese were directed to carry with them a lighted lamp or lantern in the occasion to go about the city of Victoria after dark⁴⁰. As these measures were taken 'for the better security of the residents of the Colony'⁴¹, it is easily inferred how the Chinese were seen and treated in the colony. This case clearly exemplifies how Chinese people were discriminated against until this law restricting their going out during the night was repealed in 1897 as a result of Chinese opposition⁴².

Chinese citizens were prohibited from maintaining their traditions or customs under the colonial government. One example of this can be observed from the Regulation of Chinese Ordinance of 1888, stating that they were not allowed to play any musical instrument or beat any drum or gong in connection with any religious ceremony in any public street within the City of Victoria⁴³. They were prohibited not only from posting or exhibiting any public notice or proclamation in Chinese on the street, but also from holding or attending any Chinese public meeting without a permit⁴⁴. This is a clear indication that

³⁸ Section 5, Ordinance No.9 of 1857

³⁹ Section 4, Ordinance No.14 of 1870

⁴⁰ Section 23, Ordinance No.14 of 1870

⁴¹ Ordinance No.14 of 1870

⁴² Bremner & Lung (2003) p.226

⁴³ Section 22, Regulation of Chinese Ordinance, 1888

⁴⁴ Section 50 & 51, Regulation of Chinese Ordinance, 1888

the colonial government attempted to prevent any anti-government movement from occurring in the Chinese society by enforcing strict regulations on the Chinese.

Another example of the restrictions imposed upon the Chinese was the creation of statutory zones that segregated the European citizens from the majority of Chinese subjects living on Hong Kong Island⁴⁵. It was first put into force as the European District Reservation Ordinance approved by the Legislative Council in 1888. The Ordinance defined a part of City of Victoria (Hong Kong Island) as the European District.

it shall not be lawful to build any Chinese tenement within the European District, and no non-Chinese tenement whether now built or hereafter to be built within such European District shall be divided with the object of providing for its occupation by more than one person to every one thousand cubic feet of clear internal space, nor shall such non-Chinese tenement be at any time occupied by more than one person to every one thousand cubic feet of clear internal space⁴⁶.

Behind the implementation of this Ordinance were the concerns of the European residents. The colonial government's perception was that while the close packing of the Chinese in their houses was considered normal, the Europeans, whose health was compromised in a climate unfavourable to them, required much more breathing space in their residences⁴⁷. The large influx of the Chinese at that time caused a continually increasing intrusion of Chinese houses upon the quarter of the Town formerly occupied exclusively by Europeans. This had given rise to Europeans' fears that they were being pushed out of the Town of Victoria and that there would be no suitable area for their

⁴⁵ Lai and Yu (2001) p.299

⁴⁶ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 31 March 1888

⁴⁷ The Governor's report on the condition and prospects of Hong Kong, 31 October 1889

residence⁴⁸. This Ordinance was not to prevent Chinese from living in the District, but to reserve the Town for houses built according to European models and occupied in much more limited numbers than was usual with Chinese⁴⁹. Nonetheless there is no doubt that it was for European citizens' benefit. The crowded living space of the Chinese was by no means what they desired, but was simply what they had. The Ordinance eventually forced Chinese out of the District as they could not afford to live in the conditions set out, and it formed the basis for a more discriminatory regulation implemented later.

Shortly after the Ordinance was repealed in 1903, the Peak District Reservation Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council in 1904. By then, the area known as the Peak had been developed into an exclusive haven for the wealthy Europeans with the opening of the Peak Tram⁵⁰. The service of the Peak Tram was reserved for first-class passengers, all Europeans, between 8 and 10 in the morning⁵¹. In fact, this type of exclusive services for non-Chinese was not limited to the Peak Tram. For instance, passenger ships were not allowed to carry Chinese passengers on the Upper or the Weather Deck⁵². The privilege offered by the 1904 Ordinance attracted wealthy Europeans to the Peak, where there had been only a few wooden huts and houses before the opening of the Tram⁵³. Although the area had already been occupied mostly by non-Chinese in reality, the Peak District Reservation Ordinance was to reserve the Peak District, including areas such as Mount Cameron, Mount Gough, Mount Kellett and Victoria Peak, as a place of residence for persons other than Chinese and to prohibit the Chinese from residing within the District⁵⁴.

The Peak District Reservation Ordinance was of a more discriminatory nature

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Lai & Yu (2001) p.301

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 5 May 1888

⁵³ Lai & Yu (2001) p.301

⁵⁴ Section 3, The Peak District Reservation Ordinance, 1904

than the European District Reservation Ordinance in that it clearly stated that Chinese people were segregated from other citizens. Section 5 of the Ordinance included an exemption clause, which read 'it shall be lawful for the Governor-in-Council to exempt any Chinese from the provisions of this Ordinance'⁵⁵. This exemption was invoked only once when a wealthy Chinese named Robert Ho Tung, his family and dependants⁵⁶ were allowed to live in the district. Only one exemption during the entire period in which the Ordinance was in force was meaningless from the Chinese point of view. In fact, Robert Ho Tung, being the son of a Belgian merchant, was Eurasian rather than pure Chinese, though he had adopted the manner, deportment and costume of a Chinese gentleman and claimed to be Chinese⁵⁷. Thus, Chinese people were in effect forced out from the District so that wealthy Europeans could enjoy more comfortable living in the colony.

A slight improvement in the situation was observed in the early twentieth century, but it never meant that Chinese people could lead a comfortable life. With the implementation of the Peak District (Residence) Ordinance of 1918, the clause to restrain the Chinese from residing in the District was deleted. However, any person wishing to reside in the District was required to obtain the consent of the Governor in Council⁵⁸, and the discriminatory nature of the Ordinance, therefore, still remained. According to the census data, 1,618 Chinese were residing in the Peak District in 1906, and 1,718 Chinese in 1911, while the Peak District Reservation Ordinance was enforced⁵⁹. These figures in fact represent almost entirely the number of servants employed by Europeans residing the District.

⁵⁵ Section 5, The Peak District Reservation Ordinance, 1904

⁵⁶ Lai & Yu (2001) p.302

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Section 3, The Peak District (Residence) Ordinance, 1918

⁵⁹ Report on the Census of the Colony for 1911

Year	1906	1911	1921	1931
Chinese in Peak	1,618	1,718	1,912	1,821
Total Chinese	307,388	441,664	612,310	821,104

Table 1.1: Chinese population in the Peak and the total Chinese population. (Data from Census Reports for 1911, 1921 and 1931)

The Peak District Reservation Ordinance is considered yet another example which helped widened the gap between the ruling British (and other Europeans) and the local Chinese as the ruled. The physical location of residence distinctly corresponded to the social hierarchy. The uppermost area, the Peak, was for affluent Europeans, while the second level, the Mid Levels of the Hong Kong Island, was for a very limited number of Chinese as well as Europeans who lived in luxury and ease. The lowest level, the rest of Hong Kong Island, the Kowloon peninsula and the New Territories, was occupied by the ordinary Chinese citizens⁶⁰. With the division of residential areas according to social class, the life style came to differ even further. Social institutions like the Hong Kong Club functioned as one of the symbols of the colonial rule that represented and embodied ideas of cultural superiority, class division and racial segregation.

The Chinese were thus put in an inferior position and lived a hard life. Furthermore, it was extremely difficult for them to voice their opinion at an official level. Since the establishment of the Legislative Council, its official members had all been British. Even unofficial members nominated by the Governor from local inhabitants and appointed by the Crown had also been British until the first Chinese member, though temporary, was appointed in 1880⁶¹. A Chinese gentleman named Ng Choy was appointed as a member of Legislative Council to fill in a temporary vacancy to replace Hugh Bold Gibb that year⁶². This appointment was granted under the governorship of John Pope

⁶⁰ Lai & Yu (2001) p.303

⁶¹ Endacott (1964) p.176, Sayer (1975) p.42, Tsang (2004) p.27

⁶² The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 2 June 1880

Hennessey, who was described as ‘pro-Chinese’⁶³. Yet, this was the only position that was made available for the Chinese, and the appointment ended after only two years in 1882. Thereafter some Chinese followed as members of the Legislative Council. Their presence, however, was no more than symbolic.

The second Chinese member of the Council was Wong Shing, who served from 1884 to 1890⁶⁴. At that time, the membership of the Council was limited to twelve, that is, the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General, the Surveyor General, the Colonial Treasurer, the Registrar General, and five other unofficial members⁶⁵. The Chinese representation was only one of the five unofficial members, who had very little influence and power over decision-making. In addition, taking into consideration the fact that Wong Shing became a naturalized British subject in December 1883⁶⁶, which was just before his appointment, it is difficult to judge how much his membership functioned on behalf of the Chinese community. He was, nevertheless, described by Governor George F. Bowen as ‘fully qualified to look at Chinese affairs with English and at English affairs with Chinese eyes’⁶⁷, and served for a full-term of six years.

In 1890, Wong Shing’s seat was taken over by Ho Kai⁶⁸. His name actually appeared eight years prior to his appointment as a member of the Legislative Council. He was mentioned by the Governor as a Hong Kong student in London who succeeded in the examinations at the Inns of Court in London and obtained the first place in three of the subjects, defeating his competitors from the English, Scotch and Irish universities⁶⁹. After he returned to Hong Kong, he was appointed as a member of the Sanitary Board in 1886 before being given a membership of the Legislative Council⁷⁰.

⁶³ Sayer (1975) p.42

⁶⁴ Tsai (1993) p.85

⁶⁵ Proceedings of Legislative Council Feb.-Jun. 1884

⁶⁶ Ordinance No.15 of 1883

⁶⁷ Tsai (1993) p.85

⁶⁸ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 1 March 1890

⁶⁹ The Governor’s Address on Opening the Legislative Sessions of 1882

⁷⁰ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 7 August 1886

On one occasion, his frustration was expressed as some Sanitarians were “constantly making the mistake of treating Chinese as if they were Europeans” and did not “allow for the differences of habits, usage, mode of living and a host of other things between the two” in making an Ordinance for amending the Laws relating to Public Health with its bye-laws⁷¹. He showed his concern over a situation where the local Chinese he was supposed to represent knew nothing of the existence and progress of a serious measure that would threaten to interfere with their rights and interests⁷². This clearly indicates that important decisions were made unknown to the local Chinese, by only a handful of people who barely understood or considered the worries of the populace. Although the pure ‘Chineseness’ of his representation is questionable judging from his English education background and his close relationship with the colonial government as one of the Chinese elite, his engagement in the government revealed how little the interests of local Chinese were reflected by it. Nonetheless, he served the Legislative Council until 1914 for a surprisingly long 24 years.

In 1896, when two unofficial members were added to the Legislative Council under the Governor William Robinson’s recommendation, a Chinese man Wei Yuk was selected and appointed⁷³. He had been born into a wealthy family. His father was Wei Kwong, who was compradore to the Hong Kong branch of the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China⁷⁴. Wei Yuk had also been educated in Britain. With Wei Yuk’s appointment, two seats out of fourteen in the Legislative Council were now occupied by Chinese members. They made, however, hardly any impact in relieving any of the many disadvantages suffered by the Chinese. They were minorities in the Council even though they were considered to represent the Chinese, who were the great majority of the Hong

⁷¹ Dr. Ho Kai’s Protest against the Public Health Bill, presented to the Legislative Council on 27 May 1887

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Proceedings of Legislative Council, 8 July 1896

⁷⁴ Cheng (1969) p.16

Kong population.

In terms of the political representation of the Chinese, the situation remained almost unchanged in the early twentieth century. In 1900, for example, only two Chinese names, Ho Kai and Wei Yuk, appeared in the list of fifteen official and unofficial members of the Legislative Council⁷⁵. Their names were still the only Chinese names a decade later⁷⁶. Their positions were replaced by Lau Chu Pak and Ho Fook in 1920, but these two were still the only Chinese members⁷⁷. When the number of Chinese members became two in 1896, the total civil population was about 240,000, while in 1920 it was about 648,000⁷⁸. Taking this drastic increase of population into consideration, the same number of Chinese members would mean even less representation of the local community than before.

In terms of health care, the Chinese residents had an alternative means of safeguarding their interests through the Directors of Tung Wah Hospital. The Tung Wah Hospital was established in 1870 as a free public hospital for the treatment of the poor among the Chinese. It was supported by voluntary contributions, and several names were listed as donors to the funds and committee members of the Hospital. Wong Shing, who later became an unofficial member of the Legislative Council, was among the twelve Chinese whose names appeared as the donors in the Tung Wah Hospital Incorporation Ordinance⁷⁹. Yet, although the influence of Tung Wah Committee within the local Chinese community was significant, in the colony as a whole it was weak. One example can be seen from the colonial government's reaction when the plague spread from Guangdong to the territory in 1894. They had the choice to rely on the Chinese elite, particularly the Tung Wah Committee, to deal with the plague which was at first raging only among the Chinese. Instead of accepting the Committee's advice to allow them to deal with it as a problem

⁷⁵ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 15 February 1900

⁷⁶ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 14 July 1910

⁷⁷ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 29 January 1920

⁷⁸ Medical and Sanitary Reports for the Year 1920

⁷⁹ Ordinance No.1 of 1870

within the Chinese community, however, the colonial government took matters into its own hands⁸⁰. In fact, they established three temporary hospitals for the treatment of the plague. While the management of one of them at the Glass Works at Kennedy Town was handed over to the Tung Wah Committee⁸¹, Chinese doctors who worked there were placed under the supervision of the Colonial Medical Staff and a Naval Doctor. The involvement of the Tung Wah Committee was, however, only superficial. Chinese doctors were involved there because the local people's "foolish and violent prejudices against Western medical men" often made them not only hide their sickness but also desert their plague-stricken friends and relatives after death⁸². In other words, the Tung Wah Committee did not have any authority regarding the matter. The real objective behind this was to control the Chinese in order to prevent the disease from spreading over the colony and safeguard the colonial government against criticism for its sanitary plans.

As the Tung Wah Committee had gained trust from the local Chinese community, the government apparently utilized it to face the crisis. Meanwhile, the Tung Wah Hospital itself was not fully accepted by the British authorities as the Hospital's medical facilities were insufficient, the skills were poor, and above all, it was the hospital of the Chinese, who were in an inferior position. With such a background, it was reported that a Medical Officer had strong concern over the existence and condition of the Tung Wah Hospital as a certain amount of countenance was being lent to what was described as "medical and surgical atrocities"⁸³, and the Hospital was even thought to constitute a serious menace to the health of the community. Such a negative view towards the Tung Wah Hospital could have caused a discriminatory attitude against the Tung Wah Committee, which resulted in lowering its standing in the eyes of the authorities. The ways the government handled matters helped to increase a feeling of helplessness among the local Chinese.

⁸⁰ Tsang (2004) p.71

⁸¹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 1 September 1894

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Medical Report on the Epidemic of Bubonic Plague of 1894

The fact that the Tung Wah Hospital, which was one of the most influential Chinese institutions, was not treated in a fair manner by the colonial government brought an insecure feeling to the Chinese. The argument often made that Hong Kong people are generally apathetic about politics⁸⁴ may have its roots in this. The local Chinese, who were without effective political representation, were largely kept apart from local politics. Because they could not depend much on the government to safeguard their interests, their option was often limited to learning to accept the situation as it was.

Chinese people were also excluded from participating in legal matters. In the annually published List of Jurors, only a few Chinese names appeared in the early colonial era. Wong Shing's name (spelled Wong Ashing in the list) first appeared in 1858, but it was the only Chinese name among 246 jurors of that year⁸⁵. In the Jury List for 1864, six Chinese names, Ho Acheong, Leong Wing Chuen, Ng Akwong, Wong Ashing, Wye Akwong and Yeep Ng-ow, were found⁸⁶, although the increase did not mean anything as only these six could be found in a huge list. In 1871, the situation was much unchanged, or even worse, as only two names Wai Kwong (or Wei Kwong, earlier spelled Wye Akwong) and Wong Shing appeared among nearly 700 jurors⁸⁷.

Theoretically, there was no restriction on the Chinese being appointed as jurors. To be qualified as a common juror, the person had to be a "male person between the age of twenty-one and sixty years, being of sound mind, and not afflicted with deafness, blindness, or other infirmity⁸⁸". Had the qualification required for jurors been confined to this, more Chinese would have been appointed. Jurors were, however, also required to "hold property in lands, houses, buildings, or tenements, of the monthly value of twenty-five dollars or upwards, either in his own right, or as tenant to any other person", or to "be in the receipt

⁸⁴ For example, Lau & Kuan (1988) pp.70-72, Li (2000) p.24, Lee & Chan (2008) p.89

⁸⁵ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 27 February 1858

⁸⁶ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 27 February 1864

⁸⁷ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 25 February 1871

⁸⁸ Ordinance No.7 of 1845

of an annual salary or income of not less than one thousand dollars per annum⁸⁹” (“five hundred dollars” when amended by Ordinance No.4 of 1849). The financial condition set meant that most of the Chinese population could not qualify. Very few Chinese were able to earn one thousand dollars per annum.

An insight into the general situation of that time may be gained by a passage written at the time. An American man was offered a joint editorship of a paper called “Friend of China” with a monthly salary of fifty dollars in 1847⁹⁰. As Americans were given more or less the same privileges as Europeans at the time, this episode illustrates that an annual income of one thousand dollars was never an achievable figure for a Chinese. Thus, the local Chinese were, in reality, restrained from participating in legal matters. Later, in 1864, this financial requirement was repealed. Instead, however, no person ignorant of the English language was allowed to serve as a juror under the amended Ordinance⁹¹. This, again, left almost no possibilities for the Chinese to qualify.

As was pointed out in a report on government education, those who were jurors or who spoke English fluently had been educated outside the colony⁹², which was a tiny percentage. These discriminatory requirements not only excluded Chinese people from playing a role on the legal stage, but also created disadvantageous situations where Chinese offenders were generally tried by jurors who were not their peers. Furthermore, there were not enough capable interpreters. The unfairness is evidenced from the description of the Supreme Court cases where the Chief Interpreter was a Portuguese gentleman who could not interpret written Chinese and who was unable to express himself in correct English. Also there were other recorded cases where the interpreters were Chinese who did not know English very well⁹³. The juries were generally composed of non-Chinese, and yet, in

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Jeter (1846) p.180

⁹¹ Section 4, Ordinance No.11 of 1864

⁹² Annual Reports on the state of the Government Schools for 1879

⁹³ Governor’s Report on the Blue Book of 1880

the majority of the criminal cases, the defendants and witnesses were Chinese who knew no English. It should be noted that it was extremely difficult for Chinese people at that time to qualify for the legal profession in any capacity.

The lists of Justices of Peace reveal that there was only 1 Chinese among 42 justices in 1878, whose name was Ng Choy, the Chinese elite appointed to the Legislative Council slightly later⁹⁴. The number increased to 3 out of 49 in 1882 with the addition of Ho Kai and Wei Yuk⁹⁵, and to 4 out of 53 in 1883 with Wong Shing⁹⁶. The same names also appear as members of the Legislative Council. These prestigious positions were restricted to very small elite, who were educated abroad. Without a wealthy and well-connected background, it was impossible for Chinese to be involved in legal matters. The same happened with the appointment of Justices of the Peace. Some Chinese were appointed as Justices of the Peace by the government, but they were all naturalized British, who were educated overseas. 7 unofficial justices among 60 were these Chinese in 1884, increasing to 12 out of 84 in 1893⁹⁷. Again, these people were those with a wealthy family background who had been educated abroad. These elite, therefore, might have found it difficult to really represent the local Chinese, who were mostly living poor lives. It is doubtful whether neutral and fair judgements were made towards Chinese offenders under such circumstances.

A similar situation continued to be observed in the early twentieth century, when the influence of Chinese citizens was still limited. In the list of common jurors published in 1900, 31 genuine Chinese names were found among 900 jurors⁹⁸. It decreased to 6 among 1,074 common jurors in 1910, although there were some anglicised names that hint at their Chinese origins, such as Wong Nathaniel and Chan Pat⁹⁹. These numbers did not seem to

⁹⁴ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 14 December 1878

⁹⁵ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 21 January 1882

⁹⁶ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 29 December 1883

⁹⁷ Tsai (1993) p.85

⁹⁸ The Hong Kong Government Gazette Extraordinary, 28 February 1900

⁹⁹ Jurors List for 1910

help relieve the disadvantageous and generally weak position that Chinese were in. It is obvious that the local Chinese did not have proper legal representations to protect them under the colonial government.

So far how the local Chinese people were treated in colonial Hong Kong has been described. It is clear that their living standard and conditions were far below that of the British and other Europeans. They were subjected to discriminatory laws, and despite being the great majority of the population, they had very little representation in the colonial administration. Living under such conditions may well have caused dissatisfaction in local people's minds.

In addition to the restrictions imposed by the colonial rule, Hong Kong at that time had a number of social problems that affected people's daily lives. First of all, the crime rate of Hong Kong especially in the early colonial days was high. The colonial government established a police force to respond to the situation, but the effect of it was limited. The insanitary conditions were another issue. Insufficient health care easily allowed diseases to spread in the colony. While the colonial government implemented tighter rules and regulations for improving sanitation, a hospital for the Chinese was established to ease the situation. Yet, the fundamental problem was not solved by these measures. Hong Kong's overcrowding was the primary cause of these social problems. As the overcrowded living conditions were caused by occasional influxes of refugees from the mainland, it was out of the colonial government's control. Each of these issues will be examined below.

Hong Kong in the early colonial days was not a safe place. There was a fear that the number of crimes would rise with the waves of Chinese immigrants coming into Hong Kong, many of whom found themselves suddenly free from the restraints of village life and only concerned with making as much money as possible¹⁰⁰. In response to this

¹⁰⁰ Marcks (2000) pp.275-276

situation, the police force was established under the Police Force Ordinance in 1844¹⁰¹. In spite of this move, however, Hong Kong remained unsafe for a while. For example, when an Austrian explorer visited Hong Kong in 1858, he wrote, ‘even the usually not very easily terrified Englishman’ had to carry a gun when he rode forth of an afternoon with his wife or was taken in a sedan chair to a friend’s house of an evening¹⁰². This description is not exaggerated as is evidenced by incidents such as when the captain of a merchant ship was robbed and so severely maltreated that he died of serious injury, or where the clerk of a mercantile house was picked up and pierced with a dagger resulting in a number of wounds¹⁰³. In 1871, it was reported by the Captain Superintendent of Police that serious crimes had increased by a 78.8 per cent compared with the previous year¹⁰⁴.

An instant look at the criminal cases of different types reveals that robberies with violence and burglaries showed a sudden increase in the early years of colonisation. Kidnapping was regarded at the time as an example of an ‘essentially Chinese crime’. Although severe laws against this type of crime were in force, they did not prove deterrents as no exertions were made by the Chinese authorities at Tam-Shui, where the children and women abducted were said to be sold¹⁰⁵. Another picture of unstable Hong Kong could be drawn from the number of prisoners admitted to Victoria Gaol (Table 1.2). Although it does not show a striking increase when the increase in total population is taken into consideration, having constantly 3,000 to 6,000 prisoners in the gaol would be an indicator of an unsafe society at that time.

¹⁰¹ Ordinance No.12 of 1844

¹⁰² Scherzer (1862) pp.357-358

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.358

¹⁰⁴ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 24 June 1871

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Year	1862	1864	1866	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878
Admissions	3,088	3,957	6,688	4,546	4,122	6,268	3,281	4,065	3,803
Population	123,511	121,408	115,098	117,285	119,477	118,670	-	132,524	-

Table 1.2: Number of admissions to the Victoria Gaol and total population (1). (Data from Gaol Annual Report and Returns 1879, the Hong Kong Government Gazette 6 May 1871 and 11 June 1881)

The number of prisoners did not show a significant increase or decrease for a while, but the background of the prisoners changed a little. The Colonial Surgeon's Report of 1882 paid particular attention to a considerable increase in the number of sick admitted to the Gaol Hospital, and analyzed the possible cause of this as the increase in prisoners of the beggar class¹⁰⁶. It also pointed out that the influx of European loafers and Chinese beggars reached a high level in 1881, which became a severe nuisance to the colony. These remarks and figures prove that Hong Kong was experiencing a number of social problems caused by the increase in number of residents, which lowered the living standard and raised the crime rate.

The high crime rate had been a serious issue since the early days of the colony. However, no effective measures were taken to improve the situation. Many of the criminals were believed to have a connection with the Triad Society. It was reported that at one time over one hundred members of the Triad Society were in the Gaol and recruits to the society largely came from discharged prisoners¹⁰⁷. The Chinese prisoners were exposed to such negative influences while nothing was done for their improvement. The problem was that prisoner rehabilitation was insufficient as there was no space for proper workshops and they were only employed in monotonous and profitless labour¹⁰⁸. Consequently they committed other crimes after they were discharged, which would return them to the same place. This unstable situation continued even in the twentieth century. Given the increasing

¹⁰⁶ The Colonial Surgeon's Report of 1882

¹⁰⁷ Report of the Superintendent of Victoria Gaol for 1890

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

total population of Hong Kong at that time, the number of prisoners admitted to the Victoria Gaol (Table 1.3) suggests that there was a slight improvement especially in the early twentieth century. Yet, crime was still one of the major factors that engendered people's insecure feeling.

Year	1880	1885	1890	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
No. of prisoners	3,530	3,610	3,444	5,432	6,227	4,867	4,179	5,153

Table 1.3: Number of admissions to Victoria Gaol (2). (Data from Reports of the Superintendent of Victoria Gaol)

While crime was the bane of society, disease, such as the fever epidemic of 1842 or later tuberculosis and the plague, was another serious problem. The medical standards of the nineteenth century were clearly not comparable with those of today. The sanitary system was still far from ideal. For instance, one British Vice-Consul, who stayed in Hong Kong from 1843, described Happy Valley as the most picturesque portion of the Island, but lamented the exhalations arising from the water producing fever and ague, which were the frequent cause of death¹⁰⁹. Under such unsatisfactory sanitary conditions, the colonial government believed it necessary to place a tighter control over the construction of buildings. This led to the implementation of the Ordinance for Buildings and Nuisances in 1856, which prevented the construction of any buildings that were not built on what were then supposed to be the best sanitary principles. It contained a series of minute and stringent rules on the construction of all houses in the colony. A clause of the Ordinance stated that all houses had to have a sufficient water-closet or privy¹¹⁰. This was of course thought to be one of the best methods to improve sanitation at that time, but it did not fit the Chinese inhabitants. Ironically, this clause was criticized in the Governor's Report on

¹⁰⁹ Sirr (1849) pp.4-5

¹¹⁰ Section 8, Ordinance No.8 of 1856

the Blue Book of 1880 for being simply copied from an English Act and therefore out of place in a tropical colony¹¹¹. The then Governor John Pope Hennessy's criticism was based on the following points. First was the fact that the only fatal cases of typhoid fever had been in European built houses with water-closets. Second, as one of the most experienced medical men in China, Dr. Dudgeon spoke in support of the Chinese house-bucket system, the healthiness of their foreign settlements there was due to the absence of water-closets in the dwelling-houses, which were a fruitful source of disease¹¹². The Governor was convinced by these facts and supported people's view that the underground drainage system carrying off excrement by water supply was the cause of insanitation¹¹³. The sanitary authority also seemed to be in favour of the Chinese process.

Nevertheless, it did not make much change on the living style of the colony. Not only did the local Chinese have to give up their customs which had lasted for centuries, but they even had to run the risk of getting sick in exchange for 'western sanitary science'. Under the British colonial rule, the local Chinese were usually put in a disadvantageous position, and nothing could reverse it. This was a fundamental contributor to their insecurity. Even though they hoped for a better living standard, their inferior status in the colony made it unachievable.

Another evidence of the unhealthy situation of that time is seen from the establishment of Tung Wah Hospital in 1870. The hospital was established to tend the sick, care for the aged and homeless, and to repatriate those wishing to return to China but unable to find the means¹¹⁴. It was founded in 1870 under the Tung Wah Hospital Incorporation Ordinance. The proposal was made by the Governor Richard Graves MacDonnell that a Chinese hospital be established for the care and treatment of the

¹¹¹ Governor's Report on the Blue Book of 1880

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ The Governor's Address on Opening the Legislative Sessions of 1882

¹¹⁴ Endacott (1964) p.105

indigent sick¹¹⁵. The Ordinance clearly stated that the hospital was to be founded for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a public hospital to provide free treatment for the indigent sick among the Chinese population¹¹⁶. The implication of this is that there were many Chinese people who could not afford to go to the existing hospitals. Even if some of them could afford it, a satisfactory outcome was by no means expected. As is evidenced in a report by the Acting Colonial Surgeon, with the opening of the new hospital, it was hoped that the Government Hospital would be relieved of a number of Chinese cases, for which there was really no accommodation, and which were in many cases dangerous to the health of the other patients in Hospital¹¹⁷. In other words, the Chinese were considered as a nuisance keeping non-Chinese patients from receiving proper treatments. The situation at these hospitals run by the government was far from satisfactory for the Chinese.

Even at the end of the nineteenth century, people were not much relieved from worries that arose in their insecure daily life. The plague epidemic of 1894 is remembered as one of the most traumatic incidents in Hong Kong's history. During the epidemic, people were terrified of the spread of the disease with nearly 100 new cases recorded daily at its peak¹¹⁸. It was so serious that bye-laws under Section 32 of the Public Health Ordinance of 1887 were approved on 11 May 1894 and additional bye-laws under Sections 32 and 33 on 31 May that year¹¹⁹. With these bye-laws, necessary measurements were taken to prevent the disease from spreading in the colony. These included arrangements to send persons suffering from the disease to designated hospitals, to bury the bodies of people who had died from it in a special place, or to cleanse or disinfect buildings. In spite of these measures, however, it was reported that total mortality from the plague had reached 1,900 only in a month as of 15 June¹²⁰. Some complaints were made by the

¹¹⁵ Ordinance No.1 of 1870

¹¹⁶ Ordinance No.1 of 1870, Section 3

¹¹⁷ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 23 March 1872

¹¹⁸ Solomon (1997) p.60

¹¹⁹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette Extraordinary, 11 & 31 May 1894

¹²⁰ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 1 September 1894

Chinese community regarding the methods of sanitation employed which invaded the privacy of the women's apartment, and that women and children were frightened by the daily visits of the Military and Police¹²¹. It is understood that local people's fear of the terrifying disease and the discomfort of disturbance in their life were creating dissatisfaction against the colonial government. At the peak of the epidemic, it was reported that a number of panicked Chinese, roughly estimated at 80,000, moved to Guangdong within a month, leaving their companies empty. At the same time, a large scale anti-foreign campaign by the local Chinese took place in which they claimed that they were maltreated¹²². In 1894 alone, the total number of deaths from the plague was nearly 2,485, most of whom were obviously the Chinese¹²³. This is also an indication of the pervasive insecurity of their lives at that time.

At the turn of the century, general sanitary situations had not been improved much, while over-crowding was still a fundamental problem of the colony. As far as the general death rate is concerned, as shown in Table 1.4, there was a slight improvement in the early twentieth century compared with the late nineteenth century, which is considered to be due to improvements in sanitary and medical conditions. However, the difference was too subtle to be recognized as an improvement.

Year	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
Death rate per 1,000	28.71	32.36	23.19	21.89	24.12	17.16	21.76	18.59	21.19

Table 1.4: Annual death-rate per 1,000. (Data from Medical and Sanitary Reports for 1880, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915 and 1920)

The unhealthy living conditions continued with the influx of people from the mainland. Cholera was brought into the territory, recording 1,690 cases with 1,082 deaths

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ A Report on the Epidemic of Bubonic Plague of 1900

only from July to December in 1937 and 547 cases with 363 deaths in 1938¹²⁴. It raised the estimated death rate drastically to 34.4 per cent, almost a 10 per cent increase on the previous year¹²⁵. The seriousness of the disease was seen from the issuance of the Prevention of Mitigation of Cholera Regulation under the Emergency Regulations Ordinance of 1922. Under this regulation, selling certain food without a permit was strictly prohibited.

Except under a permit in writing signed by the Chairman of the (Urban) Council and by a Health Officer, no person shall sell or offer for sale ice-cream, or any frozen or chilled preparation known as “ice-cream”, or any non-aerated drinks in the preparation of which fruit juice or herbs (other than tea) are used, or the jellies known as Leung Fan and Man Tau Lo¹²⁶.

Although the situation improved dramatically in a short period due to these precautionary measures, the cause of the epidemic was considered primarily to be the steady stream of refugees into the colony and the overcrowded conditions.

Thus, Hong Kong’s high population density had been pinpointed as the source of unhealthy living conditions. It was reported in 1896 that the average density of population was about 300 per acre, which was six times that of London¹²⁷. In the early 1930s, the number went up to 1,000 persons per acre¹²⁸. Due to this overwhelmingly high density, Hong Kong lacked space for healthy housing. Consequently, most of the Chinese houses at that time had defects in their design. It was caused by their great depth without lateral windows, the position of the kitchen in relation to the dwelling house, the position of the

¹²⁴ Annual Medical Report for the Year 1938

¹²⁵ Chapter 3, Administration Reports for the Year 1937

¹²⁶ The Hong Kong Government Gazette Extraordinary, 4 August 1937

¹²⁷ Report by the Medical Officer of Health of the Colony of Hong Kong for 1895

¹²⁸ Medical and Sanitary Report for the Year 1932

back-lane in relation to the kitchen and the dwelling house, the construction of rooms or basements against or too close to the side of the hill, and so forth¹²⁹, which were considered to obstruct the light and free circulation of air for healthy living.

Dissatisfaction and frustration caused by worsening living conditions found an expression in a series of labour unrests in the 1920s. Between 1920 and 1922 alone, there were 49 strikes demanding better wages¹³⁰. These early strikes were initially an economic struggle asking for pay rises and not a political movement as such. The Guangzhou-Hong Kong General Strike in 1925, however, had a different nature. It was originally caused by an incident in Shanghai in which a workers' leader, Gu Zhenghong, was shot dead by agents of the management of a Japanese-owned cotton mill¹³¹. The demonstration against this incident turned into a tragedy with several dozen casualties caused by British police opening fire on the demonstrators. As soon as the news of this May 30 Massacre reached Hong Kong, an immediate general strike was called for, which finally broke out on the evening of 19 June 1925. This was the beginning of a 16-month anti-imperialism strike, during which over 250,000 workers out of a total population of 800,000 went on strike and returned to Guangzhou, their hometown¹³².

The colonial government considered that the strike would be short-lived. The then Governor Reginald Edward Stubbs, who had made the decision of postponing his departure from Hong Kong, expressed his optimistic view at the Legislative Council meeting held on 23 June, shortly after the outbreak of the strike.

'I cannot bring myself to believe that any prolonged delay will be involved as

I feel confident that in a very short time the common sense of the people who

¹²⁹ Report on the Question of the Housing of the Population of Hong Kong, 1902

¹³⁰ Tsang (2004) p.88

¹³¹ Cameron (1991) p.229, Liu (1997) p.93

¹³² Liu (1997) pp.94-95

have ceased work will lead them to see the extreme folly of the course¹³³.’

He intended to remain in Hong Kong until the issue was settled, but unable to see the end of the strike, he finally left for England at the end of October that year.

The prolonged strike weakened Hong Kong economy by reducing Hong Kong’s two-way trade with China by almost half compared with the previous year. Due to the strike and boycott, Hong Kong’s role as a gate to China was severely damaged. The total shipping entering and clearing at the ports of Hong Kong indicates how devastating the situation was. It dropped from 764,492 vessels to 379,177 within a year from 1924 to 1925, and then further decreased to 310,361 in the following year¹³⁴. After the Guangzhou-Hong Kong General Strike was over, trade recovered rapidly. The number of vessels entering Hong Kong reached 560,000 vessels in 1927. These figures highlight how much Hong Kong’s trading was affected during the time of the strike and boycott¹³⁵. The strike also had a negative impact on the population as the blockade of Hong Kong port during the strike cut the supplies of meat and vegetables.

The British Government viewed Hong Kong from the very beginning of its colonial era, as a geographically, economically strategically important territory in the Far-East¹³⁶. This government’s view probably had a great impact on Hong Kong’s later economic development and people’s mindset. In the early days of the colony, the most prominent economic activity between Britain and China was the opium trade, which made Hong Kong the biggest base for it. The revenues from the opium trade, which were usually derived from a tax on the retail sale and processing of opium within the colony, were a key source of the Hong Kong government’s funds¹³⁷. While the opium trade was controlled by

¹³³ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 23 June 1925

¹³⁴ Administrative Reports for the Year 1924, 1925 and 1926

¹³⁵ Administrative Reports for the Year 1927

¹³⁶ Endacott (1964) p.17, Darwin (1997) p.16, Tsang (2004) p.14

¹³⁷ Liu (1997) p.131, Tsang (2004) p.57

the government from the early days of the colonial era with the implementation of an Ordinance for licensing the sale of salt, opium etc., under which selling or retailing any opium without a licence was prohibited¹³⁸, it was considered to play a significant role in trading business. For example, an early record shows that 15,747 chests of opium were imported into the colony by the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company in 1852, which doubled in the following year to 36,499 chests¹³⁹. The market continued to grow as the export of opium to China became active.

It was reported that the revenue from licensing the opium monopoly had been the second largest items next to the land revenue during the nineteenth century¹⁴⁰. To take the year 1880 as an example, the revenue brought from the opium farm was \$205,000, which made one-fifth of the total revenue (Table 1.5).

Year	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900
Opium	113,080	137,000	205,000	153,751	477,600	295,133	372,000
Total	914,976	896,624	1,069,947	1,251,889	1,995,220	2,486,228	4,202,587

Table 1.5: Revenue from opium monopoly and total revenue. (Data from Revenue and Expenditure for the years 1870 to 1900)

The value of opium brought from India to Hong Kong was estimated at over \$58,000,000 in that year, the greater part of which was then taken out of the colony to the treaty ports in China¹⁴¹. The opium trade was thus an integral part of the colonial development. The colonial government periodically auctioned off farms or franchises and collected indirect tax. These farms were owned mostly by Chinese merchants or contractors based within the colony. Among these farms, the largest and most enduring was the opium monopoly. Under the government's policy of auctioning the opium farm, selling revenue collection rights to

¹³⁸ Ordinance No. 21 of 1844

¹³⁹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 8 April 1854

¹⁴⁰ Governor's Report on the Blue Book of 1880

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

Chinese could secure an income with minimal trouble and liability for the colonial government. For example, with the opium trade in 1890 mentioned above, the Hong Kong government received \$205,000 from opium farms. At the same time, the farmers were offered the possibility of becoming extremely rich or building up positions of power and influence in society¹⁴². As the life of Hong Kong people under the colonial government was unstable, earning a living was the first priority. Consequently, many wanted to take these opportunities to be involved in the opium trade. This ensured the opium trade continued to grow.

Large-scale smuggling of opium from Hong Kong to China was being carried out as a way to avoid paying the indirect tax. It was reported that the Chinese government had lost at least £250,000 of revenue per annum through opium smuggling¹⁴³. Occasionally battles broke out between the opium smugglers and revenue officers, which caused some casualties. While the opium trade brought a large profit to Hong Kong, it contained such potential danger.

Then, Hong Kong developed as an *entrepôt* port since the 1860s as the export of goods from the West to China rapidly increased with the opening of the Suez Canal and the completion of Euro-Asian seabed cables¹⁴⁴. This fast development enhanced the efficiency of trade between the West and China. It was further facilitated by a huge influx of refugees from the mainland, who hoped for new opportunities in the free port. These refugees who fled from the mainland became an important labour force for Hong Kong and contributed to its economic development.

Chinese merchants thus became an important social force in the colony. By the early 1880s the total tax payment by Chinese merchants had surpassed that by European

¹⁴² Munn (2001) pp.111-112

¹⁴³ Governor's Report on the Blue Book of 1880

¹⁴⁴ Liu (1997) pp.131-132

merchants¹⁴⁵. Although the number of European residents was far smaller than that of Chinese, this does not mean that the Chinese in general were better off. Rather, these people who paid a higher tax rate were probably exceptional in the whole Chinese community. Nevertheless, it was a fact that extremely wealthy Chinese, though still very limited, gradually appeared in Hong Kong. This became a driving force for local people to strive for the same success to get free of their insecure life.

Despite the enormous contributions made by the Chinese to the territory's economy, however, the colonial government did not consider the Chinese as politically important. As was described earlier, the Chinese in Hong Kong had very little representation in the colonial government. Furthermore, they were controlled by discriminatory laws. With the influx of refugees from the mainland, people's living conditions worsened. Under such circumstances, most of the Chinese residents themselves, therefore, had no intention of staying in Hong Kong for good. As it was relatively easy for them to move in and out of Hong Kong at that time, Hong Kong was merely one of the alternatives. They were ready to return to the mainland if anything went wrong in Hong Kong, although life on the mainland was also far from ideal. Thus, the Chinese in Hong Kong came to possess a sojourn mentality. With this background, people were not concerned much with nationalism, but considered earning a livelihood more important¹⁴⁶. Hong Kong's development as an *entrepôt* port helped grow people's pragmatism as it had created the image of Hong Kong as a land of opportunities. Even though people had the option of returning to the mainland, and even though the living conditions in Hong Kong were unsatisfactory, they endured them and remained in Hong Kong. For them, Hong Kong was still a better choice as it provided career opportunities.

Hong Kong's function as a gate to China thus played a significant role in forming pragmatism in people's mind. A brief look at the number of vessels which entered and

¹⁴⁵ Liu (1997) p.133, Tsang (2004) p.59

¹⁴⁶ Marcks (2000) p.35

departed from Hong Kong reveals that Chinese ports were the most common origin and destination from the early period of Hong Kong's colonial history. Over a half of British ships and most of foreign ships that arrived in Hong Kong departed for the Chinese coast, and the same was true for the ships that entered Hong Kong from the Chinese coast. For example, in 1879, it was reported that 945 British vessels with cargoes, of the total of 1,834, departed for the coast of China and Formosa (present day Taiwan), while 16,474 out of 17,834 foreign ships were bound for these destinations¹⁴⁷. Similarly, 942 British ships and 15,962 foreign ships came from these areas to Hong Kong. Hong Kong was literally a 'gate' of China.

In fact, at the beginning of the twentieth century, 40 per cent of China's import went through Hong Kong¹⁴⁸. From the late 1930s, many Chinese enterprises fled from the war and moved to Hong Kong, bringing with them huge amounts of capital and technology. Hong Kong benefited greatly from this inflow of capital, management expertise, package production facilities and technologies in textiles, and hard-working migrants from China¹⁴⁹, which became the foundation for Hong Kong's industrialization that took place from the early 1950s. The late 1940s, after World War II, were spent aiming to reinstitute Hong Kong's viable position in the economic world. It is during this period that a large number of Chinese, who fled to the mainland during the Japanese occupation, returned to Hong Kong.

In November 1949, the U.S. imposed an embargo on exports of strategic goods to China, as the Communist took control of parts of northern China. The Americans needed Britain's cooperation for more effective trade control. At the beginning, the British hoped to maintain economic links with China as it had primary importance for the prosperity of

¹⁴⁷ Annual Report of the Harbour Master for the Year 1879

¹⁴⁸ Liu (1997) p.133

¹⁴⁹ Ho (1992) p.27

Hong Kong¹⁵⁰. However, after the Korean War began in June 1950, the British reconsidered whether or not they should join other foreign powers in carrying out an embargo against China. In May 1951, the British finally decided to impose an embargo on exports of strategic materials to China and North Korea¹⁵¹. This clearly resulted in heavy damage to Hong Kong's transit trade. A brief look at Hong Kong's export values in this period reveals that the export to China was relatively stable until the first half of 1951 after the British embargo (Figure 1.3). Then a sudden decrease was observed from April 1951. It is clear from Figure 1.3 that the British embargo had a great impact on Hong Kong's exports. It fell to below two-thirds of the value earned two months before in March. A further decrease followed in July, when the value fell almost to one-thirds that in March. This substantial drop in the export to China greatly affected total export values too.

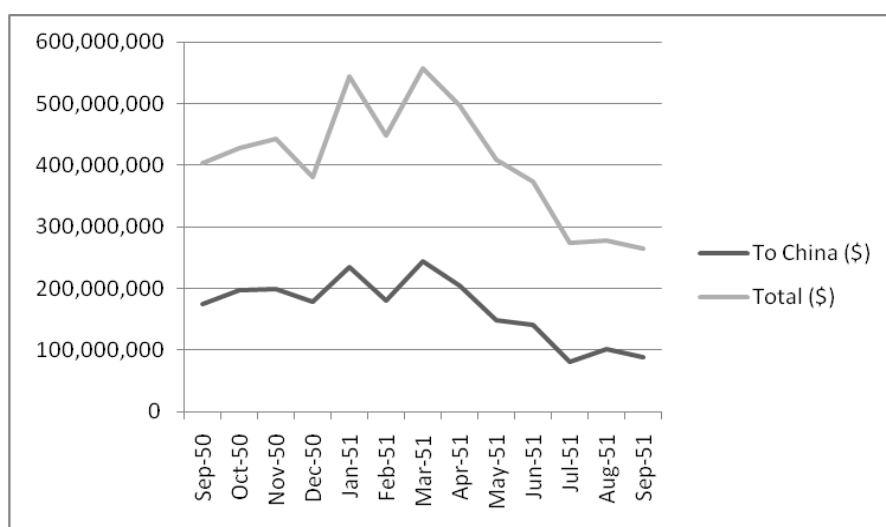


Figure 1.3: Values of export to China and total values of export. (Data from Hong Kong Trade Returns 1950 & 1951 by Department of Commerce and Industry)

As Hong Kong had neither natural resources nor land to increase agricultural cultivation, there was little possibility of surviving without changing the economic structure. Hong Kong's business community accordingly had no choice but to face the

¹⁵⁰ Schenk (2001) pp.37-39

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.39

challenge and attempt a transformation of its economy. This challenge coincided with another influx of refugees, mainly from Shanghai and Guangzhou, which followed the upheaval after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The influx of refugees brought a sudden increase of population of Hong Kong. At the end of the World War II in 1945, Hong Kong had about 600,000 people due to the population control under the Japanese military government¹⁵². It had tripled by 1950, when Hong Kong's population had grown to about 2 million residents. The population further increased over five times to 3.1 million by 1961, when Hong Kong was in the middle of industrialization¹⁵³. As more capital, equipment, technicians and managerial personnel flowed into the territory, Hong Kong was industrialized at a great speed during the 1950s and 1960s. Hong Kong's manufacturing sector correspondingly showed a dramatic growth in this period. In 1950, there were about 1,500 firms, and some 80,000 people were engaged in them¹⁵⁴. In only a decade, however, the number increased to 5,300 firms with nearly 220,000 people employed, and by 1970, a further increase was seen when 550,000 persons were engaged in 16,500 establishments¹⁵⁵.

A specific characteristic of Hong Kong's manufacturing sector was that most of the firms were family-owned, mostly in sole proprietorships and partnerships. There were very few firms that were organized as public companies. One of the advantages of the small scale firms was their readiness to respond to changes in market demand. This peculiarity of Hong Kong's manufacturing sector is a reflection of people's flexibility. Having lived through various changes frequently brought to their community, Hong Kong people had learnt the skills of how to adapt themselves to new circumstances. Keeping their firms small was one application of this idea. Small firms were more easily managed and controlled when they faced a change in the industry. Hong Kong's economic

¹⁵² Kobayashi & Shibata (1996) pp.86-89

¹⁵³ Choi (1973) p.148

¹⁵⁴ Eng (1997) p.29

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

transformation thus started rather from external forces than from self-initiation.

It was the Shanghai immigrant entrepreneurs that approached British banks for loans for their enterprises to contribute to the development of the textile industry in Hong Kong¹⁵⁶. This created a rapid growth of traditional industries like textiles, garments and plastics as well as newly emerging industries like electronics, watches and clocks, toys, etc, during the 1960s and 1970s¹⁵⁷. Hong Kong's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) continued to grow at a very fast pace. It increased twenty times between 1961 and 1980, while the per capita GDP grew over ten times during the same period (Figure 1.4).

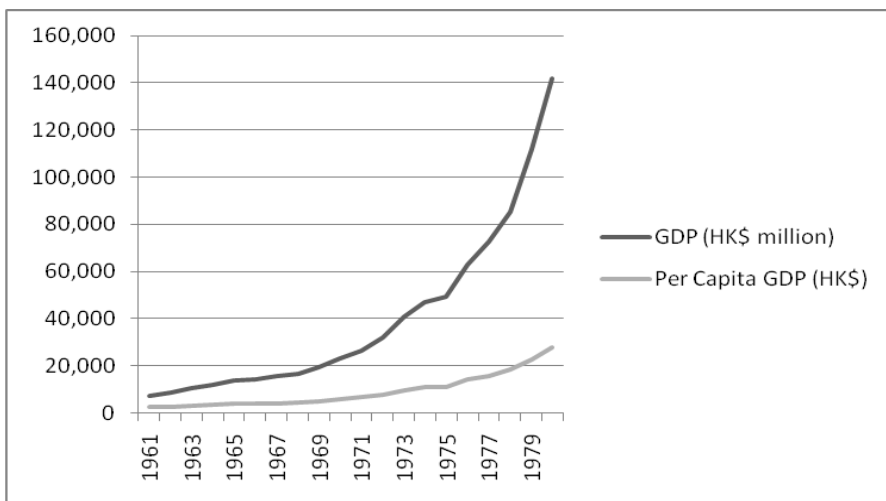


Figure 1.4: Hong Kong's GDP and per capita GDP from 1961 to 1980. (Data from the Census and Statistics Department)

Through this development, these industries became the mainstream of Hong Kong's economy. The attitude of Hong Kong people was not bound with old values but accepted the new wave and adapted themselves to the new environment. This flexibility was generated from the experiences of Hong Kong people. A large number of them were refugees from the mainland, and had gone through a series of social changes in Hong Kong since the establishment of a British colony. They were forced to live with a sense of insecurity even after arriving in Hong Kong, where they had hoped for a better life. The

¹⁵⁶ Tsang (2004) p.163, Lei & Yao (2009) p.40

¹⁵⁷ Liu (1997) p.135

life for Chinese in Hong Kong was still very much disadvantaged. They did not expect much from the colonial government because of its attitude towards them. They worked in unpleasant condition. Nevertheless they were willing to work for relatively low wages since giving it up and going back to the mainland was the least preferred choice for them.

The fast pace of growth in this period was not the result of a change in the colonial government's policy. The way the government and the people of Hong Kong dealt with its future was essentially according to the formula of not rocking the boat¹⁵⁸. Alternatively, the Chinese in Hong Kong might have been working too hard in order to make their own living to care about the policy of the Hong Kong's colonial government. Whichever it might have been, this social background promoted people's thinking that they needed to earn their living without relying on the government. The fact that there was not much social welfare at that time accelerated the rise of people's pragmatism.

Hong Kong in the 1970s saw the diversification of economic strategy. While the manufacturing industry continued to develop by producing goods of high value, the financial and business services industries like banking, insurance, maritime transport and real estate showed rapid growth from the late 1970s¹⁵⁹. The proportion of the latter industries in Hong Kong's GDP and the growth of employment generated by them exceeded those of the manufacturing industry. The newly-opened China market encouraged the relocation of the labour-intensive manufacturing sector to the mainland in order to take advantage of its relatively low costs of production. At the same time, Hong Kong was experiencing continuous population growth. The local population grew from two million in 1950 to nearly six million by 1990, a growth of one million every decade¹⁶⁰. The increase in the local population, however, did not stimulate the development of the manufacturing, but did the real estate and servicing industries. This actually prompted the

¹⁵⁸ Tsang (2004) p.160

¹⁵⁹ Liu (1997) pp.135-136, Lei & Yao (2009) pp.40-42

¹⁶⁰ Tsang (2004) p.172

economic diversification.

Behind the economic growth in this period was the colonial government's positive non-intervention policy¹⁶¹. In fact, the colonial government did not change its financial and economic policies throughout its rule. It had long embraced a public financial policy of low tax rates and low public expenditure as well as the so-called "positive non-interventionism"¹⁶². In reality, the government's position was really important as the largest employer, the biggest developer of real estate, the leading constructor, the largest landlord and the biggest provider of education and health services. Yet, it neither directed the economy nor produced a master plan for the economic diversification¹⁶³. Under the positive non-intervention policy, government departments were not responsible for, nor took risks in economic development. As a result, this eased the involvement of private sectors in economic activities. This is one of the key factors contributing to Hong Kong's economic success. The non-intervention policy on the one hand helped the territory's business sector develop without many restrictions. On the other hand, it probably accelerated the growth of people's feeling of independence from the government. This may, again, be closely linked with the political apathy of Hong Kong people mentioned above.

Social, political and economic factors have been examined so far in terms of the impact they had on the Hong Kong mentality. Hereafter, how the complex educational systems influenced the formation of people's mentality will be examined. The vast majority of the Hong Kong population is Cantonese-speaking Chinese. Under the British colonial government, Hong Kong was made a bilingual community where English and Chinese were official languages. The following section will take a further look at this linguistic identity of Hong Kong.

First of all, in the early days of colonial Hong Kong, the education simply

¹⁶¹ Liu (1997) pp.140-141, Tsang (2004) pp.170-172

¹⁶² Lee (2005) pp.295-296

¹⁶³ Tsang (2004) pp.170-172

reflected the colonial government's wishes, not those of local people. In fact, the provision of education was not placed high on the priority list of the colonial administration¹⁶⁴. The policy of the colonial government on Hong Kong and China was focused on trade. Protecting and promoting British commercial interests in the region, therefore, was given the first priority. The Hong Kong government was therefore reluctant to spend much effort on promoting education in the colony. Between 1842 and 1860, only 1-3 per cent of expenditure was devoted to schooling, while maintaining public order accounted for 30-40 per cent of the total revenue¹⁶⁵.

The reluctance of the colonial government to promote education was also evidenced from the fact that there was no coherent language policy for at least the first three and a half decades of Hong Kong's colonial existence¹⁶⁶. Education was not facilitated by the Hong Kong government. Rather, it was religious groups that set up their own schools like in other colonies, and in Britain itself. The first of its kind was a school established in 1842 by the Morrison Education Society (MES), which was founded in Macau, aiming at teaching native youth to read and write the English language and bringing within their reach all the varied learning of the Western world¹⁶⁷. Although the school received support from the colonial government after Governor Pottinger's accession, it was political rather than purely educational. The support was in fact primarily motivated by the Foreign Office's pressing need for interpreters¹⁶⁸. As it took half a year for a dispatch from Hong Kong to reach London and for the reply to reach Hong Kong, policy decisions were largely made by the governor in local matters. The British authorities exercised very little control over the content, medium and methods of education in these early schools.

¹⁶⁴ Evans (2008) p.385

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p.386

¹⁶⁶ Sweeting & Vickers (2007) p.12

¹⁶⁷ Evans (2008) pp.389-390

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p.393

The Anglo-Chinese College, another mission-school by the London Missionary Society, followed the MES School and opened in 1844 without, unlike the MES School, support from the colonial government. Although the Anglo-Chinese College aimed at missionary education, that is, training a native priesthood, it was unsuccessful because most of the students who enrolled at the college did so for purely pragmatic reasons¹⁶⁹. A little knowledge of English was sufficient for a Chinese boy to work as an interpreter or clerk for a European establishment in Hong Kong, from which he could earn well. Therefore, most students did not have an interest in missionary study, and did not stay once they had acquired enough knowledge of English to find employment.

The MES School placed equal emphasis on English and Chinese studies, but some schools like Ying Wah (Anglo-Chinese) College used Cantonese as its operational medium of instruction, while others made greater use of Mandarin, although in both cases English was regarded as an important subject¹⁷⁰. At the earliest government-assisted schools which were operated in the late-1840s, Chinese (oral Cantonese) was used as the medium of instruction. Although English was recommended by the colonial government's Education Committee to be introduced into the schools' curriculum, not many schools followed the recommendation.

Then slightly later, English came to be more favourably adopted in the school curriculum. It was after the British had made gains in the Second Anglo-Chinese War (1858-60) and when the commercial value for the local Chinese or Eurasians with English competence was rapidly becoming more prominent¹⁷¹. A move to more pro-English type of education came under the governance by Governor John Pope Hennessy during the 1860s and 1870s. This was partly because the colonial government wished a selected group of the local people to learn English for better communication between the government and the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp.397-398

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p.394, Sweeting & Vickers (2007) p.12

¹⁷¹ Chan, E. (2002) p.274, Sweeting & Vickers (2007) p.13

community¹⁷². The English education was thus established in Hong Kong first mainly through missionary schools and then through the necessity for Chinese personnel with English competence in the commercial sector.

Furthermore, the local Chinese were not equally given the opportunities, compared with non-Chinese, especially European, residents. For the vast majority of Chinese residents, an English education was not easily attainable and only a handful of local elite Chinese could receive one. With this background, the image of the English-medium schools probably became somewhat superior to the Chinese-medium schools. It could be seen from the school environment as well. To take an example from the description of educational situation of this period, there were 12 Chinese schools in which Chinese was used for all books and as the medium of instruction¹⁷³. These government-aided free schools were categorized as the Village Schools. One of the schools was reported to be poorly operated, where a large number of students, over 60 on average, were accommodated in the upper floor of a small, low-roofed, ill-ventilated, Chinese house¹⁷⁴. A general image of Chinese schools may be derived from this.

This notion of superiority of English-medium schools might have combined with people's pragmatism in thinking that it would provide better career opportunities and led to the later development of the English-medium schools. However, it did not necessarily mean that the vernacular education was shrinking although the Hong Kong government did only a little to support its development¹⁷⁵. In 1870, 1,302 children were attending the government schools, including the English-medium Central School and the Village Schools, while 10,200 children of the school age were still uneducated¹⁷⁶. Even in such a situation, however, the colonial government considered that the greatest educational want in Hong

¹⁷² Chan, E. (2002) p.274

¹⁷³ Annual Report on Schools for 1870

¹⁷⁴ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 18 March 1871

¹⁷⁵ Sweeting & Vickers (2007) p.18

¹⁷⁶ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 18 March 1871

Kong would be a school or schools for European and American children of both sexes¹⁷⁷. The Chinese-medium schools were not given the first priority in this way despite the fact that the vast majority of uneducated children were Chinese.

Thus, there existed an inequality of education among the Chinese between a limited number of privileged residents and ordinary people. The Chinese in general were placed in an inferior position, but, the circumstances of female citizens were much worse in terms of educational opportunities. There was very little chance for Chinese girls to have a proper school education in the early colonial era. One of the very few cases where Chinese girls had the opportunity of an English education was the one by the Roman Catholic Missions, which was aimed at their own denominational girls¹⁷⁸. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the establishment of a Government Girls' School was formally recommended. Yet, at that stage, it was expected that the girls who would attend the Girls' School would be the sisters of the boys attending the Government Central School¹⁷⁹. As the education for boys itself was still limited, this was far from the real open education opportunity for Chinese girls in real terms.

The Government Central School for Girls was officially opened on 1 March 1890, for the purpose of providing an ordinary middle class English education for the daughters of European, Indian and Chinese residents, with the first enrolment of 34 children¹⁸⁰. As the number suggests, this was not of great help to the local Chinese girls. Due to the lack of educational opportunities, many of these uneducated girls were living a hard life. Some even had to be involved in prostitution. Symbolizing this situation is the enactment of an ordinance for the better Protection of Chinese Women and Female Children, and for the Repression of certain Abuses in relation to Chinese Emigration in 1873. It prohibited any person from bringing, leading, taking, decoying into the colony, selling or purchasing any

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Proposed Girls' School Education, 1889

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Report on Government Central School for Girls, 1890

women or female child with intent to sell her for the purpose of prostitution¹⁸¹. This is an indication that many women and girls at that time, mostly Chinese, were forced to emigrate to other places to be engaged in prostitution or to work as maids.

The enactment of the Ordinance, however, did not bring so much improvement. Against this backdrop, a Chinese Society entitled the Po Leung Kok was formed in 1879 for the prevention of kidnapping and for the protection of women and children¹⁸². The Po Leung Kok was given a permanent and legal status and endowed funds out of the Treasury under the Po Leung Kok Incorporation Ordinance, 1893. Three years later, in 1896, it was reported that the Society obtained a new Home, which was capable of accommodating 100 girls and that the number of women and girls admitted into the Home showed a gradual increase by that time¹⁸³. In other words, there were still many female Chinese who required help and care from these organizations.

Educational opportunities were extended gradually. In 1879, there were 3,460 children who attended the government schools, while another 2,100 children attended non-government schools such as Roman Catholic Schools or native Confucian Schools¹⁸⁴. Nevertheless, it was reported that only 1,800 children among those who were in education received English or Anglo-Chinese tuition even if the English instruction in a less than adequate level was included¹⁸⁵. Although the great need for Chinese personnel who possessed a high level of English skills existed in the colony, not many Chinese had the opportunity to acquire it. In 1890, 7,170 children in 112 schools were receiving education, but only 2700 of them were taught in English in 8 English schools and 14 Anglo-Chinese schools¹⁸⁶. A dramatic change was not observed for a considerable length of time. This situation made an English education a symbol of superiority that was limited to only a

¹⁸¹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 10 May 1873

¹⁸² The Po Leung Kok Incorporation Ordinance, 1893

¹⁸³ Report of the Po Leung Kok Society for 1896

¹⁸⁴ Annual Reports on the Government Schools for 1879

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ The Educational Report for 1890

handful of privileged families. Even in 1902, at the turn of the century, among 7,737 children who were receiving education, only about 3,000 were studying at English schools or Anglo-Chinese schools¹⁸⁷.

A year earlier, it had been recommended by Governor Henry Blake that a school specifically for European children be established¹⁸⁸. It is interesting to see the reasons behind the recommendation. It seems that only the British perspective as the colonial master was taken into consideration for the recommendation. First of all, it was stated in the recommendation, no suitable education at the time was provided for European children due to the operation of government schools. Over 70 per cent of them were categorized as Class I, in which a Chinese education was given, about 3 per cent as Class II, in which a European education was given in Chinese, and 25 per cent as Class III, in which a European education was given in any European language¹⁸⁹. However, most of Class III schools had Chinese masters who were considered not sufficiently competent to give a European education to European children as they used Chinese as the medium of instruction. These schools were therefore considered to be unsuitable for European children.

Another reason stated in the recommendation was the inefficiency of a learning environment with a mixture of races and aspirations. European children wished to acquire general knowledge while Chinese children went to school to learn English. It was clearly pointed out that the Chinese liked to receive education for a very pragmatic reason. Chinese students were thought to study not 'for the sake of acquiring knowledge, but for the sake of dollars and to enable them to earn money'¹⁹⁰. The differences in their motivation were considered to justify the recommendation for the establishment of a

¹⁸⁷ Report of the Committee of Education, 1902

¹⁸⁸ Governor to Secretary of State, "School for European Children and English School for Chinese of the Upper Class", 3 September, 1901

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

European school.

As an English education was considered to offer better career opportunities, most Chinese parents who could afford to, sent their children to English or Anglo-Chinese schools. It was their general perception that English education would lead their children to a good and financially stable future, even though the education standard provided in the schools for the Chinese was far from satisfactory. Having experienced a hard life since the early colonial era the parents naturally aspired to a better life for their children. It is the desire of many parents worldwide. In Hong Kong's case, however, the parents' aspiration was even more keenly felt, given the insecurity they were constantly facing under colonial rule.

With the pragmatic consideration of the parents as the background, the number of the Chinese children who received an English education gradually, though slowly, increased in the twentieth century. As of 1913, a year after the opening of the University of Hong Kong, 6,460 children were attending government schools and grant schools, and among them, over 4,100 students were at English schools¹⁹¹. In addition, about 12,000 pupils were at private schools, with 10 per cent of them were attending private English schools. These private schools were classified into A, B and C schools according to the school standard. As almost a half of them fell into C, which was described by the education authority as 'hopeless' in terms of the academic quality, it is doubtful if these children really benefited from the English education. The increase in the education opportunity itself, however, was a reflection of local people's demand. With the implementation of the Education Ordinance in 1913, all private schools were required to meet certain criteria, such as the proper sanitation, the methods of enforcement of discipline, the use of desirable books, or any other matter regarding the proper conduct and efficiency of schools¹⁹².

The opening of the University of Hong Kong in 1912, the only tertiary educational

¹⁹¹ Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1913

¹⁹² Section 12, the Education Ordinance, 1913

institution at that time, would have contributed to the increase of the number of students studying at English schools. In 1923, the number of students studying at government schools and grant schools increased to over 7,800, and 6,800 of them were at those of English¹⁹³. It means that most schools that received some funding from the government were English schools by this time. Apart from those studying at government schools and grant schools, over 30,000 students were attending private schools, but those who studied at English schools, about 5,600, were a minority in this category. Yet, there was an apparent increase in the total number of children who were receiving their education in English.

The situation changed in the late 1940s after the Japanese occupation finished and British rule returned. As the civil war in China resumed, hundreds of thousands of refugees entered Hong Kong, creating a massive new demand for education which the British administration was initially unprepared to cope with¹⁹⁴. Since more efficient and effective policies were sought to provide vocational instruction that would be of practical use to students, the use of Chinese in place of English was attempted. In the early 1950s, enrolments in the English- and Chinese-medium secondary schools were evenly balanced¹⁹⁵. In accordance with the increase of refugees from the mainland, mother tongue education was proved pedagogically advantageous over teaching in a second language and many local educators supported the adoption of Chinese-medium education¹⁹⁶. This move eventually led to the establishment of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1963, which reflected the demand of the increasing non-English speaking residents of Hong Kong, especially with regard to higher education opportunities.

In these movements, however, local parents' preference was still placed on the English-medium secondary schools as more opportunities for employment and higher

¹⁹³ Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1923

¹⁹⁴ Sweeting & Vickers (2007) p.22

¹⁹⁵ Evans (2002) p.100

¹⁹⁶ Chan, E. (2002) pp.271-272

education were provided. It was generally perceived that the value of English was high especially when sending their children abroad for further education¹⁹⁷. The colonial government's stance towards education corresponded to local parents' preference. It was the government's intention that individual school authorities should decide whether the medium of instruction would be English or Chinese¹⁹⁸. As was the case before, parents considered a good command of English as a key to future success.

Nonetheless, higher education itself was limited to only a small number of elite students. Merely 2 per cent of the age-appropriate group was admitted to university degree programmes until the early 1980s. For instance, in the 1980/1981 academic year, the student enrolment of First-year-first-degree places was about 2,500¹⁹⁹. Given that the number exceeded 8,500 in the 1990/1991 academic year, the entry to university degree programmes was very difficult. Within such a competitive environment, success at school meant success in society. In addition, there had been a British-based accreditation system of professional qualifications such as law, accountancy, medicine, or engineering, which were obtained in Hong Kong. There was thus a built-in English language prerequisite for anyone aspiring to become a professional in Hong Kong. Thus, there were strong grounds that the English language skills were considered to be essential from a pragmatic point of view.

The preference for English-medium schools became even stronger after 1982, when the Hong Kong public learned the probable future of Hong Kong returning to China as they thought fluency in English a desirable qualification for emigration purposes, especially for relatively young professionals and their children. The number of English-medium secondary schools increased dramatically from 57.9 per cent in 1960 to

¹⁹⁷ Sweeting & Vickers (2007) p.27

¹⁹⁸ Hopkins (2006) p.273

¹⁹⁹ University Grants Committee website: <http://www.ugc.edu.hk/eng/ugc/index.htm> accessed on 23 November 2011

91.7 per cent in 1990²⁰⁰. The sudden increase from the early 1980s overlapped with the increase in available university places. From the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, the number of first-year places available for full-time degree programmes in Hong Kong was around two per cent of the relevant age group. Then the number rose to 4.5 per cent of the age group in 1986 with about 4,200 places, 10 per cent in 1990 with about 8,500 places, and 18 per cent in 1995 with 15,000 places, after which the number stabilized²⁰¹. In order to secure a place at a university degree programme, attending an English-medium secondary school was essential.

Interestingly enough, since the 1980s, about 90 per cent of primary school students have been educated in the Chinese-medium in all subjects except English²⁰². This totally opposite situation between primary schools and secondary schools undoubtedly causes some confusion and difficulties at the transition from the primary to secondary school. Nonetheless, the society of Hong Kong, especially parents of the students, has had a strong preference for English-medium schools. It has commonly been perceived in Hong Kong that English is the language of the highest instrumental value and social status²⁰³. Hong Kong people consider the economic value of English more important than the pedagogic value of Cantonese. This tendency has continued even after the re-unification to China, which proves that pragmatism has taken root in Hong Kong people's mind.

One clear example to indicate people's preference for the English-medium education was seen in 1997, just after the reunification. The government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region decided to implement a new policy that all public-sector secondary schools would adopt Chinese as the medium of instruction for students in Form 1 to Form 3 from September 1998²⁰⁴. An exemption was granted to the schools which met

²⁰⁰ Lee (1997) p.166

²⁰¹ University Grants Committee (<http://www.ugc.edu.hk/eng/doc/ugc/stat/chart.pdf>) accessed on 23 November 2011

²⁰² Chan, E. (2002) p.274

²⁰³ Lai (2005) p.363

²⁰⁴ South China Morning Post, 22 March 1997

the conditions such as the students' ability to learn and the teachers' capability to teach in English, or the schools' supporting strategies and programmes, but the decision of the Education Department was that only 100 schools would be permitted to teach all subjects except Chinese subjects in English and the rest (around 300 schools) would have to use Chinese as the medium of instruction²⁰⁵. Hong Kong society showed a strong and emotional reaction against this government's decision. Students cried when they knew that their school had to turn to the Chinese-medium school, and many, together with their teachers and parents, marched on the streets expressing their dissatisfaction²⁰⁶. Twenty secondary schools appealed against the decision and fourteen of them were further allowed to teach in English, which made the total number of English-medium schools 114²⁰⁷.

The reaction of people demonstrates that the English language for Hong Kong people has become both a cultural and symbolic capital and knowledge of English distinguishes them from mainland Chinese²⁰⁸. This linguistic identity serves as one of the most distinct features of Hong Kong people from the rest of China. Bilingualism is, as it were, a privilege given to them under the 150-year colonial history, and it has taken root deep in people's mind as their identity. What we see from people's reaction is not just a matter of learning to the students, but 'a matter of honour or dishonour, of pride or shame'²⁰⁹. The English language skills promote Hong Kong people's competitiveness in the international market compared with mainland Chinese who have been increasingly influential in the global economy.

During the ten years after the implementation of the mother-tongue education policy, heated discussions and debates were held about it. The government accordingly re-assessed and fine-tuned the policy in 2009. Under the revised plan, schools would be

²⁰⁵ South China Morning Post, 14 December 1997

²⁰⁶ Chan, E. (2002) p.271

²⁰⁷ South China Morning Post, 14 March 1998

²⁰⁸ Chan, E. (2002) p.272

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p.277

given more freedom to determine the language of teaching, provided that 85 per cent of their Form 1 students come from the top 40 per cent ability band²¹⁰. Schools that do not meet this requirement could still conduct up to a quarter of their non-language subject class time in English. This new policy actually provoked strong resistance from some principals and teachers, since they were concerned that it would lead to increased workloads and intense competition among schools to offer English classes and that students studying in Chinese-medium classes would be further stigmatised²¹¹. Nonetheless, the responses have been generally positive. Thus, whether it is pedagogically effective or not, bilingualism plays a significant role in Hong Kong society partly as an identification of Hongkongers, or partly as a socio-economic driving force.

The influence of Hong Kong's education systems on the Hong Kong mentality has been analyzed so far. It has become clear that education in the early colonial days of Hong Kong was not given the priority in the government's policies. There was also serious inequality between the privileged Chinese and ordinary local Chinese, as well as between boys and girls, in terms of educational opportunities. These factors cultivated the sense of inferiority among the Chinese. They, on the other hand, opted for pragmatism as education was considered as a necessary tool for success in employment.

The way in which the colonial background has affected the formation of the Hong Kong mentality has been explored in this chapter. The insecure feeling of Hong Kong people emerged from the inequality people felt as the ruled group, the political representation they barely had, and the legal system which did not protect the same rights as the British expatriates enjoyed. It also came from the social instability that Hong Kong had experienced. Safety and sanitation were still the major concerns in the daily life of the local Chinese. Flexibility was required for people to tackle the difficulties under the

²¹⁰ South China Morning Post, 14 February 2009

²¹¹ South China Morning Post, 28 March 2009

colonial government. From the early days of the colony, people had a sojourn mentality that they could always return to the mainland if the situation worsened. This was possibly one basis of people's flexibility. The flexible attitude enabled Hong Kong to adapt different approaches to the economic development. The successful transition from an *entrepôt* of Britain to an industrialized city and then to a finance and business services centre owes much to such flexibility. Behind the economic development, people's pragmatic way of thinking heightened. Through experiencing a hard life, people came to realize that financial achievement would be what they should aim at in order to protect themselves. How much they could earn became an important issue then. This is obvious even from people's preference for the English-medium schools which are considered to offer better future career opportunities. It was thus considered that Hong Kong's status as a British colony contributed to the formation of the Hong Kong mentality. The next chapter will be an attempt to clarify China's influence on the mentality of Hong Kong people.

Chapter 2 China Factors

Even though Hong Kong was once a British colony and followed the British political and legal system, China's influence cannot be neglected throughout Hong Kong's colonial history as well as after the handover of sovereignty to China. In this chapter, China's impact on the formation of the Hong Kong mentality will be examined.

It is considered that the perception of one's identity is very much related to mentality. This area has been broadly discussed among the scholars from the perspectives of politics, education and culture, largely in relation to the colonial and post-colonial contexts. In the case of Hong Kong, the emergence of the Hong Kong identity would not be properly viewed without considering China's presence. It is commonly agreed that the emergence of a Hong Kong identity occurred in the 1970s²¹². The justification for this is mostly based on the economic development of Hong Kong and the political situation of China in the period.

For example, the emergence of a Hong Kong identity can be observed from the issue of border control. Until 1950, people were able to move freely and regularly to and from China, which produced a sojourner mentality and kept Hong Kong people from developing a sense of local identity²¹³. The border between Hong Kong and the mainland was insignificant compared with that of other political territories. Rather, trade and movement through the border were positively encouraged by colonial officials and economic elites as Hong Kong was serving as a gate to connect China with the West²¹⁴. Hong Kong therefore meant a temporary residence for most of the Chinese, who were always ready to go back to the mainland if things went unfavourably. Many people came to Hong Kong from the rural areas of southern China to look for work and when they had

²¹² Tsang (2004) pp.180-181, Chan (2007) pp.383-384, Lee (2007) p.499, Ma & Fung (2007) p.173, etc.

²¹³ Tsang (2003), Tsang (2004) p.181, Ku (2004) , Lee (2007) p.499

²¹⁴ Smart & Smart (2008) p.180

earned enough money, they went back to their home on the mainland. When they experienced economic hardships or political turbulence there, they again migrated to Hong Kong. This actually formed a flexible pool of migrants who provided sufficient labour to establish Hong Kong as the major trading port in the Far East²¹⁵. As a result, there was no reason for a strong Hong Kong identity to be nurtured since most Hong Kong people did not belong to Hong Kong in a real sense. People at that time called themselves simply Chinese as there was no notion of being “Hongkongers”²¹⁶.

The foundation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, however, made the situation very different. Before this dramatic change in China, Hong Kong had been a haven for Chinese political exiles and economic refugees who fled their motherland during civil wars, domestic turmoil and natural catastrophes²¹⁷. Hong Kong basically accepted this situation assuming that it would help the colony develop further. Nonetheless, with this new political movement, the number of refugees became uncontrollable. Having faced a political disorder in the mainland, the colonial government enacted Chapter 243, the Immigrants Control Ordinance in 1949. The primary purpose of the Ordinance was to stop these refugees from entering the territory any longer as a severe shortage of space, which was already a worsening problem, was anticipated. An even more crowded situation with a sudden increase of population was believed to cause a negative impact on the development of Hong Kong economy. Under the Ordinance, entry into the colony was prohibited except at an authorized landing place or point of entry, and with a permit from an Immigration Officer²¹⁸. It also required that all persons entering the colony hold a valid travel document, a valid entry permit, a certificate of residence or frontier pass²¹⁹. This meant an imposition of permanent immigration restrictions at the Sino-British border. Theoretically people in

²¹⁵ Law & Lee (2006) pp.230-231

²¹⁶ Chun (2000) p.449

²¹⁷ Lin & Tse (2005) p.874

²¹⁸ Section 4, The Immigrants Control Ordinance, 1949

²¹⁹ Section 18, The Immigrants Control Ordinance, 1949

the mainland could no longer enter Hong Kong freely. In reality, however, the Ordinance had little effect because the Chinese government did not really control the immigrants who poured into Hong Kong.

The colonial government therefore implemented a quota system in 1950 to limit the entry of Chinese citizens after the negotiation with the Chinese government²²⁰. Under this system, the Chinese government could grant exit permits so-called “One-Way Permit” that would allow the holders to enter Hong Kong for residence, and the Hong Kong government would accept all the Chinese citizens who had been issued the permits. The Chinese population of Hong Kong thus turned into a settled one as a result of this border control²²¹. Those who were born in Hong Kong after 1950 therefore had little contact with the PRC. It was this separation that had helped the Hong Kong identity grow gradually when these post-war local-born baby boomers came of age in the 1970s. It is also relevant that the immigrants from China largely decided not to return to the socialist motherland. They arrived in Hong Kong with a hope for the social stability that was not guaranteed in the mainland. This flow of people into Hong Kong caused the gradual formation of a local identity since the 1960s²²².

On the other hand, it is also true that despite the border control, illegal migrants from China continued to enter the territory and helped fuel economic expansion in Hong Kong²²³. Between 1949 and 1950 only, over 700,000 refugees flowed into Hong Kong from China²²⁴. This accounted for over one-third of the total population of about 2 million in 1950. Another influx of over 115,000 refugees was caused by the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the Great Chinese Famine on the mainland during 1959-61, and another wave of illegal immigration followed the death of Mao Zedong in 1976²²⁵. In fact, in spite

²²⁰ Law & Lee (2006) p.219

²²¹ Tsang (2003), Tsang (2004) pp.180-181

²²² Lau (1997) p.2

²²³ Smart & Smart (2008) p.182

²²⁴ Lin & Tse (2005) p.874

²²⁵ Ibid.

of the implementation of the Immigrants Control Ordinance in 1949 and the “One-Way Permit” system in 1950, the colonial government exercised discretion in allowing illegal immigrants to register and stay in Hong Kong whether they were apprehended by the police or not, due to a serious shortage of unskilled workers caused by rapid labour-intensive industrialization²²⁶. This is why the inflows of immigrants mentioned above occurred.

This situation continued for a while until the early 1970s, but then the border control was tightened in 1974 with the introduction of the “Touch-Base Policy”. Under this new policy, illegal immigrants who were arrested were repatriated to China, while those who successfully evaded capture and established a home with relatives or found accommodation in urban areas were allowed to stay²²⁷. The immigrants who “touched base” in Hong Kong were simply allowed to remain in the territory. It means that they were not required to register and obtain an identity card.

The Chinese government, however, accused Hong Kong of positively welcoming illegal immigrants. At the same time, another massive influx of refugees occurred after China adopted the Open-Door policy in 1978. Accordingly a tougher measure was established in October 1980 under Governor Murray MacLehose. The colonial government abolished the Touch-Base Policy and all people residing in Hong Kong were required to hold an identity card or other acceptable proof of identification at all times. The illegal immigrants who were already in Hong Kong were given three days to register to apply for identity cards but only 7,000 did so²²⁸. Most of the illegal immigrants believed that the registration would be a trap to send them back to China and therefore were scared of being deported if they were caught. They did not take the risk and chose to live quietly and remain illegal. The number of these illegal immigrants without official documents was

²²⁶ Law & Lee (2006) p.220

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ The Globe and Mail, 27 October 1980

estimated as many as 200,000 at that time²²⁹.

Apart from the abolition of the Touch-Base Policy, the decrease of issuance of One-Way Permit also functioned as an effective measurement to control the inflow of people from the mainland. Through these several stages, the population of Hong Kong was gradually made more stable than the past. Yet, as these refugees comprised a significant part of the Hong Kong population, their anxiety and basic insecurity are likely to have played an important role in forming the Hong Kong mentality.

The Hong Kong identity could be considered to have been shaped by the local people differentiating themselves from those in mainland China. With the colonial government's effort education through, the rule of law came to be highly valued in Hong Kong. This actually contrasted sharply with the PRC, where the law and regulations were not efficiently exercised²³⁰. The path of development of Hong Kong and China had diverged greatly since 1949, with Hong Kong pursuing laissez-faire capitalism and China experimenting with Maoist socialism²³¹. While Hong Kong rapidly transformed itself into an active member of the international economy, China became an inward-looking and closed society²³². The contrast of "capitalism versus socialism" or "economically developed versus developing" became an essential element of the Hong Kong identity.

The perceived differences gradually generated a sense of superiority among the Hong Kong Chinese over mainland Chinese from the 1970s. Until then, in fact, most local people were so poor and the life in Hong Kong was so hard that their identity was not associated positively with the colonial government²³³. For example, as was mentioned earlier, those who could receive higher education were very few until the 1970s. As Figure 2.1 shows, Hong Kong's per capita GDP did not show a rapid growth until the mid-1970s.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Tsang (2004) p.182

²³¹ Lau (1997) p.3

²³² Ibid. p.3

²³³ Lau (1997) p.4, Tsang (2004) p.183

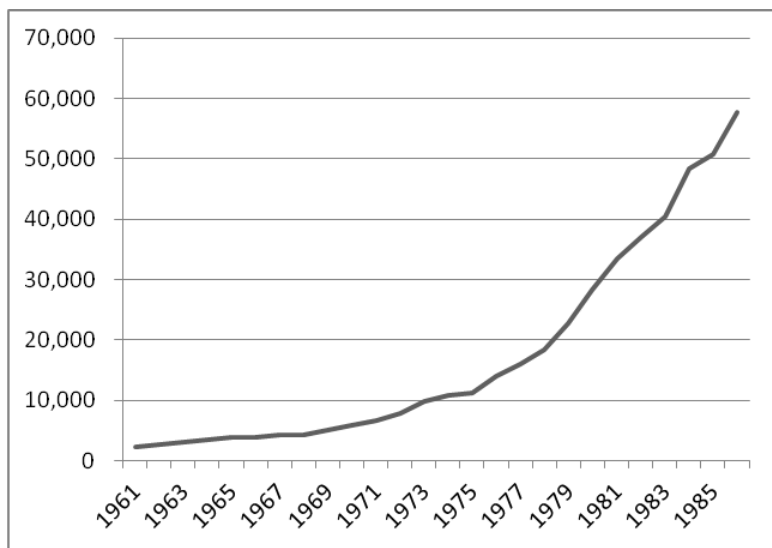


Figure 2.1: Hong Kong's per capita GDP from 1961 to 1985 (HK\$) (Data from the Census and Statistics Department)

The fact that the Hong Kong identity was formed within the framework of a sharp contrast with China indicates that political and social instability of China contributed much to the emergence of the Hong Kong identity after the 1970s, when Hong Kong people's living standard rapidly improved.

The settled population in the 1950s and 1960s, most of whom were originally political and economic refugees from various parts of China, enabled the significant development of industry in Hong Kong, mainly providing a cheap, hard-working labour force for the production of textiles and other export goods²³⁴. This development led to the economic boom of Hong Kong during the 1970s. Two major socio-economic factors for the emergence of a clear, local Hong Kong identity in the 1970s can be identified; the increased prosperity due to the dramatic growth of Hong Kong economy, and the significant stabilization of the population²³⁵.

The economic progress in this period apparently contributed to creating the striking differences in standard of living in Hong Kong and China, which engendered

²³⁴ Simpson (2007) p.170

²³⁵ Ibid. p.171, also in Degolyer (2007)

attitudes of superiority and disdain for mainland China²³⁶. For example, in 1960, it was reported that over a half of the urban population were still living in overcrowded or slum conditions on incomes of less than 300 dollars a month²³⁷. By 1971, however, the mean monthly income of employees of all industries exceeded 1,000 dollars²³⁸. Even the manufacturing industry, which accounted for 32 per cent of Hong Kong's labour force at that time, offered an average of 875 dollars per month. Again, it may be regarded that the Hong Kong identity became more prominent by comparing the situation in Hong Kong with that in China.

The Hong Kong identity, particularly strong among those who were younger, born in Hong Kong, in better paid employment and with greater education, could be characterized as “modern, Western-influenced, materialist, and predominantly urban”²³⁹. Hong Kong people made their own status by contrasting themselves with people on the mainland. Since one of the elements that differentiated Hong Kong from China was its economic prosperity, an emphasis was placed on the pursuit of economic success in order for Hong Kong people to keep their superior position over the mainland people.

It was noted above that the divergence of political and economic situations of Hong Kong from those in China played a significant role in the emergence of the Hong Kong identity. How, then, has the local people's ethnicity affected establishing the Hong Kong identity? A majority of the Hong Kong population originated from mainland Chinese who, as labour force, were attracted particularly from the neighbouring province of Guangdong to Hong Kong in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the development of *entrepôt* trade. Also, they were people who, as political and economic refugees, tried to escape from the internal chaos in China in the first half of the twentieth century. There were a large number of wealthy merchants as well from Shanghai who fled

²³⁶ Simpson (2007) p.172, also in Lau (1997) p.3, Lee & Chan (2005)

²³⁷ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 24 February 1960

²³⁸ Hsia and Chau (1978) p.467

²³⁹ Simpson (2007) p.173

to the colony in the 1930s and 1940s during the Japanese invasion of China and the civil war, also with the establishment of People's Republic of China in 1949²⁴⁰.

Many of those who entered Hong Kong from the mainland did not return to their homeland. In Hong Kong, opportunities were relatively easily found thanks to prosperous the *entrepôt* trade. As people recognised a striking difference in the social conditions between the two regions, the general image of Hong Kong and that of the mainland came to be seen in contrast; one as positive, the other as negative. This complicated Chinese ethnicity must have had great impact on the establishment of the Hong Kong identity.

In fact, even if it was the case that the Hong Kong identity was formed through the self-differentiation of the local people from those in mainland China, it was also true that Hong Kong people were ethnic Chinese and had families, relatives, friends, or business in China, which thus meant that they could not be completely immune from developments in China²⁴¹. This complex situation enabled Hong Kong people to have a flexible mind. On the one hand, they were free from the political and social chaos of the mainland and enjoyed a better standard of living than that of mainland China. On the other hand, they were Chinese who were proud of, and treasured their cultural and social traditions. Their notion of "Chinese but not Chinese", as it were, would not have been realized without their flexibility. In the history of the Chinese in colonial Hong Kong, a mixed identity was gradually cultivated derived from this complexity.

Their flexible attitude towards their identity can be evidenced by people's self-identification as well. Several studies recognized four identities among Hong Kong people, that is, 'Chinese', 'Hongkonger', 'Chinese and secondarily Hongkonger' and 'Hongkonger and secondarily Chinese', and analyzed how they were perceived by the local people²⁴². A relatively stable pattern of identification of about 20-30 per cent for

²⁴⁰ Simpson (2007) p.170

²⁴¹ Lau (1997) p.4

²⁴² For example, Lau (1997), Lam *et al.* (2006), Ma & Fung (2007), etc.

people identifying themselves as either “Hongkonger” or “Chinese” was found from four surveys carried out in 1996, 1999, 2002 and 2006²⁴³. On the other hand, the category “Hongkonger and secondarily Chinese” showed a clear increase throughout the four surveys (32.9%, 35.8%, 36.0%, and 38.1% respectively)²⁴⁴. Together with the category “Chinese and secondarily Hongkonger”, the dual identities count almost 60 per cent of the respondents. This indicates that the dual identities ‘Chinese and secondarily Hongkonger’ and ‘Hongkonger and secondarily Chinese’ had become more prominent and important since Hong Kong’s return to China. Since the dual identities are currently the dominant form of identity in Hong Kong people²⁴⁵, it could be considered that people are flexibly switching their identity from one to the other according to social, political, and economic changes in the society. People in Hong Kong long had a complicated situation where their society was strongly influenced by the Western political and legal system while it remained very much Chinese culturally. This background probably contributed much to generating people’s flexibility.

The changes in China should not be neglected in considering the identity issues of Hong Kong people. Chinese economic reforms and the Open Policy after 1978 gradually transformed an economically weak country into one of the economic superpowers in the world. Hong Kong soon started to seek the opportunities in the mainland and moved its manufacturing activities across the border²⁴⁶. Hong Kong’s traditional role as an *entrepôt* to China did not function for a while as a result of the U.S.A. and the United Nations embargoes following the Korean War in the 1950s. However, it revived from the early 1970s following the gradual normalization of international relations between China and the West²⁴⁷.

²⁴³ Ma & Fung (2007) p.174

²⁴⁴ Ibid. p.174

²⁴⁵ Kim & Ng (2008) p.237

²⁴⁶ Smart & Smart (2008) p.183

²⁴⁷ Ho (1992) p.230

The impact that the development of trading with China made on Hong Kong was of great significance. A brief look at the trade statistics shows how large the scale of the impact from the trade with China was (Figure 2.2).

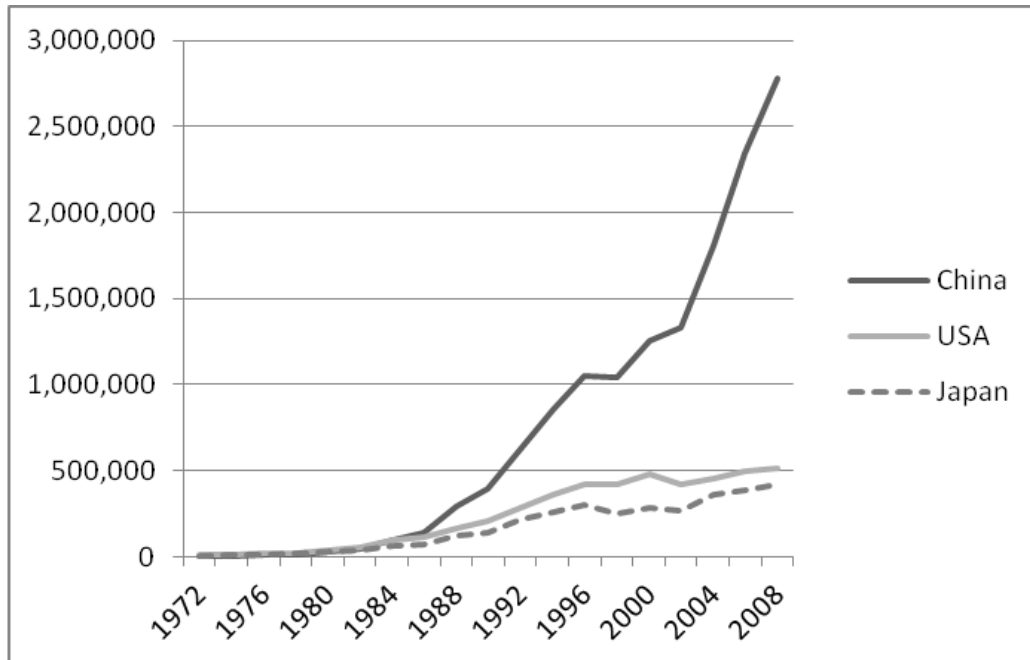


Figure 2.2: Total trade with China, USA and Japan (HK\$ million) (Data from Total trade with ten main countries/territories by the Census and Statistics Department)

In 1972, Hong Kong's total trade with China was only about 4 billion Hong Kong dollars and ranked third after trade with the United States and Japan. After a decade in 1982, Japan's position was taken over by trade with China, which had achieved a ten-fold growth to over 44 billion Hong Kong dollars by then. It was not long before China became the top trading partner for Hong Kong. By 1986 the total trade with China exceeded that with U.S. by almost 30 billion Hong Kong dollars. It only took another four years before it reached twice as much as the total trade amount between Hong Kong and the United States. Since then China's position has never been replaced by any other country. The trade with China has grown at an incredible pace and it currently accounts for a half of Hong Kong's total trade. China's existence has thus become indispensable for the prosperity of Hong Kong.

China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 was a critical new factor affecting Hong Kong's economic growth, its role in the Chinese economy and the nature and intensity of Hong Kong's cooperation with its neighbour, Guangdong²⁴⁸. Furthermore, the establishment of the Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement in 2003 between Hong Kong and China, known as CEPA, accelerated the economic development of the two regions. CEPA is essentially a free trade agreement between China and Hong Kong. Under this arrangement, certain Hong Kong-made products are free from tariffs when exported to mainland China, while certain Hong Kong-based service providers have easier access to the mainland market²⁴⁹. CEPA's less restrictive conditions enable Hong Kong firms to have first-mover advantage in entering the Chinese market²⁵⁰. With these two significant events, Hong Kong's economic development was further accelerated. As Figure 2.2 above indicates, the growth rate of the total trade with China after 2002 is apparently much greater than the previous years, even compared with those with U.S.A. and Japan, which are Hong Kong's second and third biggest trading partners.

CEPA not only fuelled economic integration between the regions, but also allowed citizens in the mainland to visit Hong Kong on an individual basis. This was made possible especially with the launch of the Individual Visit Scheme in July 2003, by which travelling to Hong Kong for mainland citizens in selected cities was made easier and more convenient. The number of visitors from the mainland increased from 6.83 million in 2002 to 8.47 million in 2003, and 12.25 million in 2004, with annual increase rates of 24.1 and 44.6 per cent respectively²⁵¹. Obviously, behind the drastic increase was the rapid economic growth in the mainland. In fact, the year 2003 saw a significant 6.2 per cent fall in the total number of visitors to Hong Kong compared with 2002 due to the outbreak of

²⁴⁸ Sit (2004) pp.815-816

²⁴⁹ Lo & Ng (2007) p.51

²⁵⁰ Fung & Zhang (2007) p.39

²⁵¹ Hong Kong Tourist Board Annual Report, 2002/2003, 2003/2004, 2004/2005

Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS)²⁵². However, the number of visitors from mainland China was the only exception that marked an increase from the previous year. It is clear that these visitors from the mainland played a very important role in the development of the Hong Kong economy.

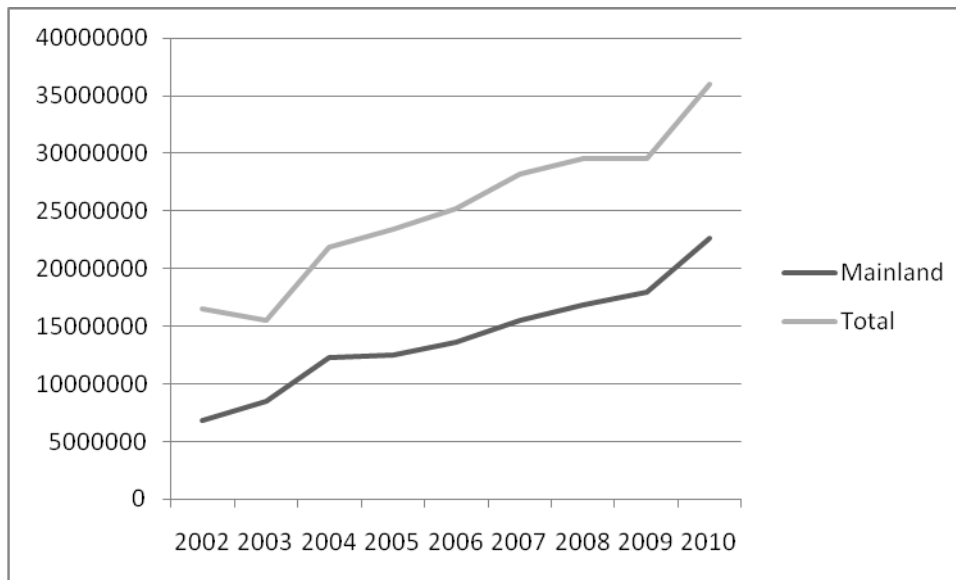


Figure 2.3: Total visitor arrivals from all regions and from mainland China (Data from Statistical Reviews of Hong Kong Tourism)

Now, these tourists stand as a core element of Hong Kong's economic growth. In 2010, over 22 million people came from the mainland, which accounted for 63 per cent of Hong Kong's total arrivals²⁵³. They spent much more money than tourists from any other country. In 2010, the total overnight visitor spending by mainland visitors recorded 87 billion Hong Kong dollars, which was equivalent to 64.4 per cent of the total spending by all overnight visitors²⁵⁴. In other words, Hong Kong's economy would be severely damaged without these mainland visitors. Hong Kong people who once differentiated themselves from the mainlanders with a superior feeling now possess a different view as they see China as the

²⁵² A Statistical Review of Hong Kong Tourism 2003, p.4

²⁵³ A Statistical Review of Hong Kong Tourism 2010, p.3

²⁵⁴ A Statistical Review of Hong Kong Tourism 2010, p.4

best economic partner. This was made possible by their flexible and pragmatic ways of thinking. In fact, economic opportunities are now regarded to exist north of the border, rather than in Hong Kong²⁵⁵. As long as the economic growth in China continues, the dual identity of Hong Kong people will still remain founded on their flexibility and pragmatism.

²⁵⁵ Lo & Ng (2007) p.186

Chapter 3 Other Factors

Hong Kong has experienced a number of important changes within one and a half centuries. Since these changes simply happened without reflecting local people's wish or intention, people were in a sense forced to adapt themselves to each new environment. It is therefore considered that the continuously changing environment had a great impact on the Hong Kong mentality. As factors relating to Hong Kong's colonial status and China issues have been discussed in the previous chapters, this chapter looks into other factors that might have affected the creation of the Hong Kong mentality. Special attention is paid to the uncertainty that was engendered in people's mind through experiencing the changes.

Within about one and a half centuries, Hong Kong saw four significant political changes: the acquisition of sovereignty by the British in 1841, the occupation by the Japanese from 1941, the re-acquisition by the British in 1945 and the reunification with China in 1997. These are of course only the changes observed from political perspectives. At a lower level, that is, in people's daily lives, there have been numerous changes affecting them. For instance, even after the tiny island of Hong Kong was colonized by the British in the middle of the nineteenth century, Hong Kong's unstable status continued. The dissatisfaction of the British with the result of the Treaty of Nanking, as what they really hoped was to secure economic benefits from trade not simply to obtain a tiny island, led Britain to take more aggressive attitude and demand the revision of the Treaty²⁵⁶. This finally resulted in the Second Sino-British War from 1856 and ended up with the expansion of the colonial territory by including the Kowloon peninsula in 1860.

At that time, Hong Kong's economy was slowly growing owing to the trade with the British and the Americans²⁵⁷, but people's insecure feeling remained. Hong Kong was naturally an easier option for migration from China, where the political situation was very

²⁵⁶ Tsang (2004) pp.14-15

²⁵⁷ Yee (1989) pp.62-63, Tsang (2004) p.164

tense. When the situation in the mainland worsened, an influx of people into Hong Kong soon occurred.

In 1858, for example, the city and suburbs of Canton were captured by the Allied British and French Forces and placed under military occupation under martial Law²⁵⁸. The blockade of the River and Port of Canton was raised and there were conditions imposed on persons, other than Chinese, visiting the city or suburbs. A proclamation by Pih-Kwei, Acting Imperial Commissioner of the Emperor of China, was then sent to John Bowring, Governor of Hong Kong, stating that Imperial Commissioner and Governor General of the Two Kwang had been deprived of all official rank as a result of his mal-administration and a new person had been nominated²⁵⁹. The tension in the mainland caused a flow of refugees into Hong Kong.

More chaos was brought to the colony even after the Peace Treaty was signed. The Treaty between Great Britain and China was signed on 3 July in 1858. In disregard of the Treaty, however, menacing proclamations and orders were issued by people who had hostility to Britain, principally from the districts of Heang-shan and Sun-on, compelling the residents of Hong Kong to quit their abodes, to violate their obligations, to neglect their duties and to flee to the mainland of China²⁶⁰. The society of Hong Kong felt uneasy under such a situation, not knowing what would happen to them. Moreover, with an influx of immigrants from the mainland, the growing economy could not fully support to provide Hong Kong people with reasonable standard of living. The population of Hong Kong during this period increased dramatically from 75,509 in 1858, to 94,917 in 1860, and then 123,511 in 1862 with the inflow of people from the mainland²⁶¹.

Such a sudden increase of population brought a security problem in the colony and heightened people's insecure feeling. The colonial government therefore issued a

²⁵⁸ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 8 February 1858

²⁵⁹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 13 March 1858

²⁶⁰ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 31 July 1858

²⁶¹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 6 May 1871

notification stating “as some anxiety is reported to be felt among the Community in the present unsettled state of affairs in the neighbourhood of this Colony, it has been thought advisable by the Government to adopt certain precautionary measures for securing the peace of the City and the safety of the inhabitants and property²⁶²”. This was realized immediately as the enactment of Ordinance No.2 of 1857 issued on 6 January 1857. It is, however, of a discriminatory nature. Under this ordinance, all Chinese residents in the colony were obliged to hold a night pass from eight (later revised to nine) in the evening till sunrise²⁶³. Any person lawfully acting as a sentry or patrol at night time was authorized to fire upon, with intent or effect to kill, any Chinese whom he had reasonable grounds to suspect of being outside for an improper purpose²⁶⁴. The colonial administration considered that it was necessary to control the Chinese to protect non-Chinese residents and improve security. It proves that the society was still in an unstable condition, for which the Chinese residents were blamed.

In addition, just outside the territory, there had been a fear that Russia might launch a sea-borne invasion. Britain had been in conflict with Russia during the Crimean War that started in March 1854. Although most of the fighting took place in the Black Sea region, Britain considered the War an opportunity to counter and undermine Russian influence in East Asia²⁶⁵. A British squadron left Hong Kong to move against Russian territories in Northeast Asia upon the declaration of the war. Russia at that time was interested in Hong Kong for its excellent strategic position and they also noted that Hong Kong was largely defenceless especially after the British fleet moved north²⁶⁶. A rumour that a large Russian fleet was in the area spread in Hong Kong, which forced Hong Kong to quickly erect defences and construct signal stations at each end of the island. Although

²⁶² The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 27 December 1856

²⁶³ Section 5, Ordinance No.2 of 1857

²⁶⁴ Section 11, Ordinance No.2 of 1857

²⁶⁵ Share (2004) p.725, Share (2007) pp.18-19

²⁶⁶ Share (2004) p.726, Share (2007) p.19

they never attacked the territory, the uncertainty made Hong Kong residents extremely nervous during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It can easily be deduced that local people were lived with considerable uncertainty under such circumstances.

After the Crimean War ended, the Hong Kong's relations with the Russians had improved as the Russian Empire recognized Hong Kong's potential significance and obtained free trade access under a treaty with the British. Yet, a suspicion that the Russians might attack Hong Kong never completely vanished especially as at that time, there was no permanent fleet stationed in Hong Kong. It was reported in 1880 that the Russian Consul noted that Hong Kong's excellent strategic position would make it a fine base for the Russian navy²⁶⁷. In addition to this situation, a growing dispute between Britain and Russia in 1885 over Afghanistan and Central Asia brought another fear to Hong Kong that they might be about to come under a naval attack.

The anxiety caused by this forced the colonial government to decide to raise the defence level. In a dispatch sent to the Secretary of State dated on 2 January 1885, Governor Bowen requested the British government to provide the armament of the new forts at the colony, reporting that there was a very strong feeling fully shared by the principal Naval and Military Officers that it would be worse than useless to erect fresh defence works unless they were armed with Ordinance of latest and most approved pattern, capable of resisting the attack of the heaviest modern artillery²⁶⁸. This actually reveals how weak the defence of Hong Kong was, and how tense the situation was becoming. Spying activities by the Russians were actually observed during this nervous period. The colonial government noticed that two suspected Russian spies had left Hong Kong in 1885, which again led to a heated discussion about the territory's security. In the following year, three Russian officers were arrested for sketching defence fortifications protecting Hong Kong²⁶⁹.

²⁶⁷ Share (2007) p.23

²⁶⁸ Correspondence respecting the Armaments of the Forts at Hong Kong, 2 January 1885

²⁶⁹ Share (2007) p.27

It was apparently a sign of Russian's strong interest in Hong Kong which heightened anxiety.

The early twentieth century did not see much improvement in the colony's defence issues. Since the previous century, the issue of Hong Kong's defence had been argued, but it even became more serious when the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904. Hong Kong was accused by the Russians of, for example, allowing a ship bound for Japan to take on a supply of dynamite in spite of Britain's formal neutrality²⁷⁰. British neutrality obviously applied to its colony Hong Kong as well. A proclamation was issued upon the outbreak of the war to ban the supply of coal to the war-ship of either belligerent power except on the written authorisation of the Harbour Master²⁷¹. Yet, despite the official neutrality, Russia's accusation was in fact justified by the increase of the vessels under the British flag in Ocean-going trade. An increase of 352 ships of 930,300 tons compared to the previous year was recorded, which was explained "due to a large influx of colliers and other tramp steamers in ballast, attracted to the Far East by the War"²⁷². The increase of British vessels bound for Japan was due to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed in 1902, but as Hong Kong did not have sufficient defence measures, people would have felt a threat from the Russian power.

Apart from the security issues in relation to the foreign threat, Hong Kong had several domestic problems that increased insecurity. For example, Hong Kong was considered to have played an important role in the 1911 Chinese Revolution. A heroic figure in the Revolution, Sun Yat-sen, and his colleagues planned and initiated at least eight abortive uprisings from the British colony Hong Kong²⁷³. This was mainly because the Chinese revolutionaries took advantage of the politically freer atmosphere and more independent political status of Hong Kong, turning the territory into a convenient sanctuary

²⁷⁰ Share (2004) p.733

²⁷¹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette Extraordinary, 15 February 1904

²⁷² Report on the Blue Book for 1904

²⁷³ Fok (1990) p.53, Liu (1997) pp.83-85

and a place of secret anti-Manchu conspiracy²⁷⁴. Sun himself was educated in Hong Kong and had graduated from the College of Medicine for Chinese in 1892, where he realized the progress of the West and the backwardness of China.

A series of revolutionary attempts originated from the foundation of Hsing-chung hui (Revive China Society) in Honolulu in November 1894, followed by the foundation of Hong Kong Hsing-chung hui in 1895 both inspired by Sun Yat-sen²⁷⁵. The original aim of the society was not to overthrow the Manchu dynasty but to organize progressive elements at home and abroad for the purpose of strengthening China²⁷⁶, however it later became more radical. The first revolutionary attempt to capture Canton was planned for October 1894. Canton was selected as the target for the revolutionaries because of the easy accessibility from the conspirators' main base Hong Kong, which functioned as the rear headquarters where men, arms and funds were to be assembled²⁷⁷. The plot, however, was unsuccessful due to the internal conflict and lack of communication between Hong Kong and Canton sides. Some six hundred Hong Kong residents were reported to be involved in this attempt although only forty or fifty of them were apprehended upon their arrival in Canton²⁷⁸. Sun Yat-sen, who was in charge of the plot in Canton, went back to Hong Kong then escaped to Japan, where he received support from a number of Japanese in and out of the government.

He led another attempt in 1900 in which he tried to persuade the Governor-Generals of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to declare the independence from the Empire. The plan was initiated by Ho Kai, a Chinese member of the Legislative Council of Hong Kong, who drafted a letter to Governor Blake of the colony²⁷⁹. Informed by Ho Kai that anti-Manchu rebellions would break out in Hunan and in the south shortly but would

²⁷⁴ Fok (1990) pp.53-56, Liu (1997) pp.82-83

²⁷⁵ Hsueh (1960) pp.308-309

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Schiffrin (1968) pp.56-61

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p.86

²⁷⁹ Hsueh (1960) p.315,

not be anti-foreign, Governor Blake offered his support to the movement. His confidence in the movement was expressed at the Legislative Council meeting held on 9 July 1900. Upon mentioning the Peking's unstable situation, the Governor showed his belief that the trouble in the north would not affect the southern provinces, where the three Viceroy's had declared that they would preserve peace at all hazards²⁸⁰. The revolt broke out in October 1900 in the Chinese territory bordering on British-leased Kowloon, and ended unsuccessfully again after two weeks.

After a while, Sun established Tung-meng hui (Revolutionary Alliance) in 1905, whose main objective was to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. It was backed up by his Japanese friends and overseas Chinese, especially those who were in Japan. Tung-meng hui attempted several revolts at Canton and the Sino-Vietnamese border before the Chinese Revolution in 1911. Although these attempts did not hit Hong Kong directly, some of the key members were in Hong Kong directing the movement and the fight took place just next to the colony. Hong Kong also functioned as a major recruiting and training-ground for the revolutionaries as well as a financial support centre and a safe haven for them to retreat to after unsuccessful armed uprisings²⁸¹.

The outbreak of the Great War in 1914, though the main stage was in Europe far from Hong Kong, did impact Hong Kong as a part of the British Empire. Hong Kong experienced some tension in August that year, with the news of a conflict in the West. Several proclamations, which would affect people's daily life, were issued one after another. Proclamations issued on 3 August 1914 stated the possibility of the Royal Naval Reserve being called into actual service²⁸². It was also announced on the same day that the transmission of telegrams and radio-telegrams to and from or in transit through the United Kingdom and to and from or in transit through all British Possessions and all British

²⁸⁰ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 9 July 1900

²⁸¹ Fok (1990) p.53, Tsang (2004) p.78

²⁸² The Hong Kong Government Gazette Extraordinary, 3 August 1914

Protectorates was suspended²⁸³. Public telegrams and radio-telegrams were allowed, provided that they were written in plain language and in English or French, and on the understanding that they were accepted at the sender's risk and subject to censorship by the British authorities.

Also under the proclamation, vessels leaving Hong Kong were required to report to the Harbour Master and then get a certificate from the Chief Examining Officer, and any vessel failing to do so was liable to be fired on²⁸⁴. Once the notice was issued proclaiming that the war had broken out between Britain and Germany on 5 August 1914, the Hong Kong Volunteer Corps was also called up for actual military service²⁸⁵. Hong Kong inhabitants were informed that the colony would be guarded by the navy from an attack by the enemy and assured that the existing strength of the defences and garrison of the fortress would make unlikely a raid by predatory cruisers²⁸⁶. Yet, the residents could not feel at ease with the territory under a state of war. On the following day, 6 August, it was announced that members of the Volunteer Reserve were to be enrolled as members of the Volunteer Force²⁸⁷.

Hong Kong's main contribution in this war was as a support to Britain, both in personnel and finance. This is evidenced by the fact that a considerable number of patriotic expatriates volunteered for military service²⁸⁸. Furthermore, Hong Kong paid, in addition to the normal military contribution, a further ten million Hong Kong dollars, which included two million dollars raised from a special charge on rates paid by property owners, most of whom were Chinese²⁸⁹.

Meanwhile, the Trading with the Enemy Ordinance was passed by the Legislative

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ The Hong Kong Government Gazette Extraordinary, 5 August 1914

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ The Hong Kong Government Gazette Extraordinary, 6 August 1914

²⁸⁸ Tsang (2004) pp.86-87

²⁸⁹ Ibid. pp.86-87

Council on 6 October 1914. This banned trade with German and Austria-Hungary and those who continued to trade with the enemy were 'liable upon summary conviction to imprisonment for any term not exceeding twelve months and to a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or upon conviction on indictment to imprisonment for any term not exceeding seven years and to a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars'²⁹⁰. When the Bill was discussed at the Legislative Council, however, there was very strong opposition to it from some members. It was recorded that unofficial members of the Council were against the Bill because they were not given enough time to read the Bill before discussion²⁹¹. Governor May explained, in order to persuade the members, that the Bill was not an ordinary one and it was not an ordinary occasion, adding that the Bill was in line with the policy approved in detail by the British government. The object of the Bill was 'to provide for the prevention and punishment of the offence of trading with enemy', aiming to 'prevent money or the equivalent of money reaching enemy territory so as to assist the enemy during the war'²⁹². While the unofficial members understood the importance of it, they were unwilling to pass the Bill without thorough consideration or without consulting the business community of the colony as it would have a serious effect on the trading business. One unofficial member represented the Chamber of Commerce and some others the local business community. For them, trading for Hong Kong was the most essential part of the local economy and it would be undesirable to stop transactions with those countries even in war. This illustrates that the unofficial members who represented the local community, as most local people would, prioritized economic profit before politics. Nonetheless, in spite of the opposition put forward, the Bill was finally passed.

In fact, the economy of Hong Kong itself did not suffer much from the war. It actually grew during the war period partly because of expansion in business and other

²⁹⁰ Section 2, Ordinance No.25 of 1914

²⁹¹ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 6 October 1914

²⁹² Ibid.

economic activities among the local Chinese. However, this did not necessarily mean that the local people in general benefited from the economic growth. Severe inflation due to the shortages caused by wartime disruptions and the rapid increase in population was pressing on their daily lives, and the fall in living standards of the local Chinese, especially the working class, created social tension. Most of the local people at that time felt anxious about their future. Insecurity caused by the instability is thus considered to have become a significant element of the Hong Kong mentality.

Nevertheless, thanks to some technological advances such as electricity, the development of transportation and so forth, the living standard of the local Chinese gradually improved after the Great War. Then, however, the War of Resistance came. The war against the Japanese started in China in 1937 with the Battle of Lugou Bridge (the Marco Polo Bridge Incident), which later had a great impact on Hong Kong. The population of Hong Kong was estimated to have increased by over 500,000 in 1938 alone, most of which came from refugees fleeing from the war²⁹³. The problems of sanitation and public health as well as the question of how to provide food and the barest shelter for such an influx became a serious concern. It was reported that the unskilled labouring classes were still found densely packed in tenement houses deficient in light and air²⁹⁴, and this pushed up the cost of living as a general increase in rent occurred. Prices in general rose drastically to a peak after the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities in July 1937, at levels between 20 and 70 per cent above the corresponding figures of the previous year²⁹⁵.

In addition to these unstable living conditions, as the defence of Hong Kong was poorly prepared and organized partly owing to the needs of Britain's own defence against Germany, even with the introduction of conscription of the local Chinese into the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps and the Hong Kong Naval Defence Force, there existed a

²⁹³ Chapter 3, Administration Reports for the Year 1938

²⁹⁴ Chapter 5, Administration Reports for the Year 1938

²⁹⁵ Chapter 13, Administration Reports for the Year 1937

threat to people in Hong Kong. The fear of Hong Kong society was getting serious as the Japanese proceeded to southern China. The Hong Kong Telegraph reported on 8 August 1939 that most scrap iron in Hong Kong had been exported to Japan for making bullets²⁹⁶. This describes how serious the situation surrounding Hong Kong was getting, which heightened people's anxiety.

As the war continued, the worst scenario came true. On 25 December 1941, known as Black Christmas, the British troops in Hong Kong put up white flags. It was from this day that Hong Kong was placed under Japanese rule for three years and eight months. People in Hong Kong were forced to live a hard life again. Innocent civilians were treated badly by Japanese soldiers and many Chinese shops were closed down, Hong Kong dollars were banned from circulation, and the exchange rate between the military note and the Hong Kong dollar was getting worse²⁹⁷. An American man who escaped from Hong Kong just before being sent to Stanley Prison later described his horrible experience in Hong Kong. It was reported that the Japanese had destroyed all medical supplies except cotton and bandages and a few disinfectants when they had taken over the hospitals²⁹⁸. This obviously worsened the sanitary condition in the colony. The living condition under the Japanese occupation was thus far from satisfactory. However, there was no other way for Hong Kong people but to accept the fact to survive. They were required to act flexibly even in worsening conditions. Not knowing when the Japanese occupation would end, the only thing Hong Kong people could do was to adapt themselves to the new era and hope for a better future.

When World War II ended, the British returned to Hong Kong. While Hong Kong people were relieved that the wartime hardships had finally came to an end, the uncertainty they had had about their future remained. It was expressed, at the first ordinary meeting of

²⁹⁶ Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR): Ref. A03024495000

²⁹⁷ Liu (1997) p.110

²⁹⁸ The Saturday Evening Post, 20 June 1942

the Legislative Council after a long interruption, that the colony had not yet recovered from its wartime damage. An unofficial member, Lo Man-Kam, made an address to the Governor:

Much has been done towards the rehabilitation of the Colony. But, Sir, Hongkong is still licking its wounds. The hostilities and the occupation will leave many permanent scars in the shape of injuries, mental as well as physical, and it must take time to repair all the material damage and ravages of the past four years.

Moreover, it is a truism that the problems of peace are no less difficult than those of war. And the Colony is faced with many of its own problems of peace – social, political and economic²⁹⁹.

The colony was physically unable to resume its economic activities at full capacity. The airport at Kai Tak was heavily damaged and the immediate construction of an airfield was demanded. It was expected, at the time the meetings of Legislative Council were held, that it would cost three to four million pounds and take thirty months for such a construction³⁰⁰. At a more general level, reconstructing demolished properties was urgently required. However, the colonial administration was reluctant to spend much money on it. It was made clear that the colonial government had neither the staff nor the resources to undertake the reconstruction of all demolished property³⁰¹. Although they were only ready to consider an application by any owner of demolished property to reconstruct on his behalf and charge him with the cost, they were prepared in select instances to lease and repair or to resume for a public purpose. This attitude was apparently due to the financial difficulties of

²⁹⁹ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 16 May 1946

³⁰⁰ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 19 July 1946

³⁰¹ Ibid.

the colonial government itself. However, people in Hong Kong, losing their trust in the colonial administration, had to live with little hope. As was mentioned earlier, the Chinese people in Hong Kong were not given any privilege unless they were British-educated or rich, successful businessmen. During this economically unhealthy period, people's desire to pursue financial goals became stronger in order to survive.

Their distrust in the colonial government was rooted not only in the financial weakness but also in the defensive weakness. The myth of the invincibility of the British Empire had been completely destroyed by Japan's successful invasion³⁰², which made people's feeling of distrust and insecurity stronger. During the Japanese occupation, the population of Hong Kong was intentionally reduced by the Japanese in order to tackle the devastating economic situation. Many, who did not have residence or employment, were forced to leave the territory, making the population at the time of the Japanese surrender around 600,000 from over 1.5 million at the beginning of the occupation³⁰³. Those who stayed during the three years and eight months had to adapt themselves again in a new environment with uncertainty. Thus, post-war Hong Kong began uneasily.

The local Chinese nonetheless had a positive attitude towards the new beginning. They voiced their desire for better and fairer treatment. It was expressed, for example, that the local Chinese should be given a real chance to fill some of the important administrative positions, more budget should be allocated to education, especially to primary vernacular education for the Chinese community, and so on³⁰⁴. They did not expect something similar to the pre-war days from the returned colonial government. In reality, of course, they had to face several problems, such as a shortage of rice and fuel, the high cost of living and so forth, worsened by the flood of returnees from China numbering 100,000 every month

³⁰² Tsang (2004) p.124

³⁰³ Ibid. p.167

³⁰⁴ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 5 September 1946

since the war ended³⁰⁵. This dense population soon became an even more a serious issue when the Communists took control of China in 1949. Refugees from the mainland rushed into Hong Kong during this period too. The influx was so immense that a population census originally planned for late 1948 was postponed to 1950 and then cancelled. The estimated population of the colony was 2,015,300 in 1951, over three times more of that in 1945³⁰⁶.

It was during this chaotic era, then, that the making of new Hong Kong began. With these refugees, business expertise and the manufacturing skills and equipment were brought to the colony, which would contribute to the later development of Hong Kong. With a large group of wealthy people, businessmen and industrialists from Shanghai and other areas, large amounts of capital were also brought into the colony. It was estimated that as much as US\$50 million of Chinese wealth had taken refuge in Hong Kong and 228 Shanghai businesses or industrial concerns had shifted their registration to Hong Kong³⁰⁷. Thus, a significant role in Hong Kong's industrialization during the 1950s and 1960s was played by enterprises which moved into the colony from the mainland.

People's feeling of insecurity, however, was not completely alleviated. During this industrialization period, they had to work in unsatisfactory working conditions. This can be evidenced by, for example, a report of Assistant Labour Officer from Britain on her visit to Hong Kong in 1956. It reveals that the workers in the factories she visited were prepared to work unlimited hours even to achieve bare subsistence earnings because the alternative was unemployment³⁰⁸. The workers had no choice but to accept any condition. Very harsh working conditions included about five public holidays a year, no sick leave with pay, very rare annual leave, no pay on maternity leave, and so on³⁰⁹. For them, asking for higher

³⁰⁵ Tsang (2004) p.167

³⁰⁶ Census and Statistics Department (1973)

³⁰⁷ Ho (1992) p.6

³⁰⁸ Faure (2003) p.151

³⁰⁹ Ibid. pp.150-151

wages, or shorter hours on the same wages meant to risk their being replaced by other workers. Hong Kong people, through experiencing several big changes, realized the importance of taking a flexible attitude towards any situation so that they could face difficulties. It was due to this flexibility that some people gained a better treatment under the Japanese occupation because they were able to shift their attitude to being more pro-Japanese. They did not see any point under such a situation to take the risk of showing negativity or resistance.

Hong Kong's economic take-off began in the early 1970s by making full use of market deregulation and vigorously pushing ahead with its policy of economic diversification³¹⁰. With the economic growth in this period, the government started to take a more positive and proactive approach to social policies. This included a public assistance scheme for the poor, free compulsory primary education, and expansion of public expenditure in housing, health services, higher education and the civil service³¹¹. The standard of living of Hong Kong people improved with these measures.

However, while people's lives continued to improve in the 1980s, there was another uncertainty emerging. The lease of the New Territories was going to expire in 1997 and people's concerns on this issue were expressed everywhere. For example, a newspaper report published before the Sino-British negotiations began talked about the uncertainty that existed in the business community of the colony. A survey was conducted among local companies and it was reported that almost a half of the responding companies would consider to freezing expansion of their Hong Kong business until its long-term status had been decided, while a quarter would also consider diverting investment out of the colony³¹².

Then the Sino-British negotiations started in 1982. The negotiations in the end

³¹⁰ Liu (1997) p.135, Tsang (2004) pp.171-172

³¹¹ Li (2000) pp.27-31, Tsang (2004) pp.171-172

³¹² The Globe and Mail, 3 August 1982

took shape as the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, which agreed on transferring the sovereignty over the whole of Hong Kong from Britain to China on 1 July 1997. The decision did not simply bring uncertainty to Hong Kong society, but had a great impact on the economy. One instance was the decision of Jardine Matheson, one of Hong Kong's oldest and biggest companies, to move to Bermuda because of uncertainty over the future of Hong Kong³¹³. Although the company chairman clearly said that they did not intend to withdraw from Hong Kong or reduce their effort to expand their business in Hong Kong and China, the announcement of Hong Kong's leading company stunned the local financial market³¹⁴. This illustrates how sensitive people were over the issue of Hong Kong's future.

When the Declaration came into effect in 1985 and the transition period officially began, uncertainty and fear became even stronger. Their main concerns were whether Hong Kong people's freedom, way of life and standard of living would be preserved, and whether the Chinese would really refrain from interfering in the territory's domestic activities³¹⁵. In addition, as the future of Hong Kong had been decided without the local people's direct input, much frustration was generated³¹⁶. These concerns stemmed from the distrust of the Chinese government, which had worsened after the Tiananmen Square Massacre in June 1989³¹⁷. While there was some optimism on the future of Hong Kong on the grounds that China's vital economic self-interest was at stake and therefore China would not unduly interfere in Hong Kong, more and more pessimistic views were expressed³¹⁸.

Some took action before reunification. A large proportion of the educated population considered the option of emigration, and many actually left Hong Kong³¹⁹.

³¹³ The Globe and Mail, 30 March 1984

³¹⁴ New York Times, 29 March 1984

³¹⁵ Cheng (1984) Ch.3

³¹⁶ Tsang (2004) p.229, Chan (2006) pp.285-286

³¹⁷ Lee & Chan (2005) p.6, Lee (2007) p.500

³¹⁸ Overholt (1991) pp.32-34, Ellis (1997) p.60

³¹⁹ Overholt (1991) pp.36-37

Those who could not afford to emigrate remained in the region with a heightened feeling of uncertainty and insecurity. Although the Sino-British Joint Declaration guaranteed Hong Kong's autonomy and capitalism for fifty years, it did not promise a democracy. For instance, some political reforms towards more democratic nature were proposed during the transition period, but China was strongly against their implementation³²⁰. Such indirect threat from China worsened the situation. As was mentioned above, many people migrated to other places like Canada, U.S.A., or Australia. The number of emigrants was steady at about 20,000 yearly in the early 1980s, but drastically increased from 1987, when it was about 30,000, then only in three years it reached 60,000 in 1990, which was over 1 per cent of the total population. These moves were large enough to affect Hong Kong's population growth rate. As Table 8 shows, a decrease in growth rate was observed from 1982, the year the Sino-British negotiation started. A relatively small growth of less than 1 per cent continued until 1992, the cause of which was considered to be the large number of emigrants during the period³²¹.

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Growth rate	2.7%	2.4%	1.6%	1.5%	1.0%	1.1%	1.3%
1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
1.0%	0.8%	1.0%	0.3%	0.8%	0.8%	1.7%	2.3%

Table 3.1: Population growth rate compared with the previous year (Data from Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, February 2002)

Although the number of emigrants started to decrease from 1995, the unusual sudden increase of people leaving Hong Kong tells how worried people were and desperate about Hong Kong's future. Moreover, as a large number of these emigrants were highly educated and highly skilled, in the Hong Kong society emerged another concern that the loss of

³²⁰ Vitrano (1995) pp.449-450, Li (2000) p.37,

³²¹ Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics (Feb 2002)

skilled manpower would lead to a decline in productivity and the demise of Hong Kong as an industrial and financial centre³²².

On 1 July 1997, the sovereignty of Hong Kong was finally handed over to China. It was the fourth time Hong Kong had had a different master in about 150 years: from China to Britain, then Japan, Britain again, and lastly back to China. During these one and a half centuries Hong Kong had transformed from a tiny fishing island to a world-class financial metropolis. Prior to the reunification with China, Hong Kong people had already faced and tackled a number of difficulties. In the post-reunification period, even though the worst scenario people had imagined had been avoided, there have still been issues that create uncertainty in people's minds, such as the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003, or the global financial crisis in 2008. Statistics clearly indicates the impact of these issues on people's lives.

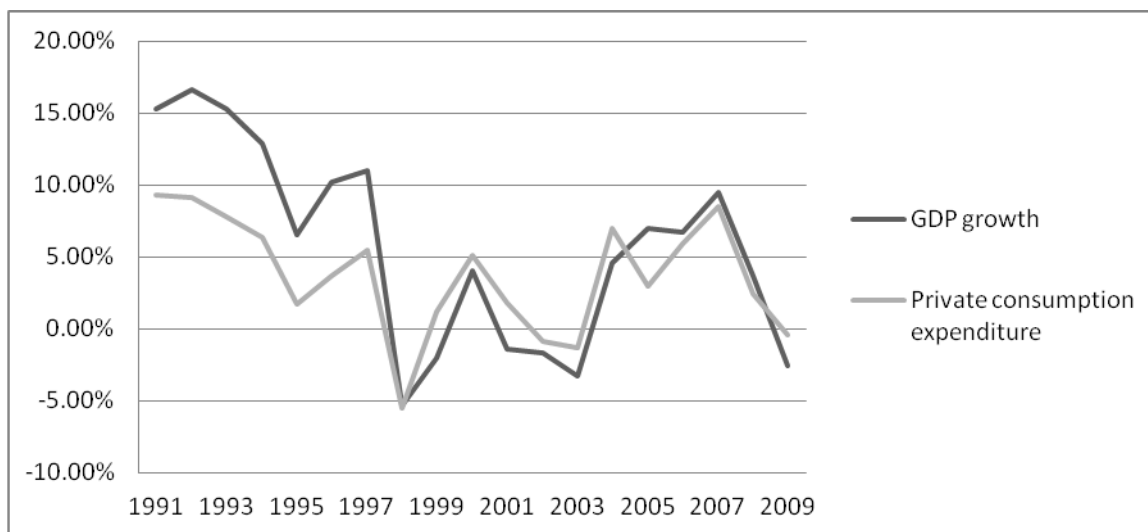


Figure 3.1: Annual growth rate of Hong Kong's GDP and private consumption expenditure in the past 20 years. (Data from Census and Statistics Department)

For example, the yearly growth rate of Gross Domestic Product, which had been on the rise for decades, showed a negative figure for the first time in 1998, then 2001-2003 and 2009 overlapping with the aforementioned critical times. The same tendency was observed

³²² Skeldon (1995) pp.56-57

in the private consumption expenditure, which accurately reflected people's attitude in daily life (Figure 3.1).

Among the issues of concern, the Article 23 of the Basic Law of Hong Kong especially drew public attention. The article states that 'the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, subversion against the Central People's Government, or theft of state secrets, to prohibit foreign political organizations or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region, and to prohibit political organizations or bodies of the Region from establishing ties with foreign political organizations or bodies'³²³. When the Hong Kong government led by Tung Chee-hwa announced that the provision would be implemented with a National Security Bill and duly presented it to the Legislative Council in February 2003 for passage, grave concerns, especially about the freedom of speech, were raised³²⁴. A joint series of mass demonstrations involving more than half a million people took place in July 2003. The media emphasized the insecure feeling of Hong Kong people.

'Contrasting with a bright blue sky, everywhere from Central to North Point people were wearing black – the traditional colour of mourning – to express their feelings about the impending enactment of national security legislation critics say will lead to a lessening of people's rights and freedoms'³²⁵.

'... the announcement of draconian amendments to Article 23 of the Hong Kong Basic Law has brought out hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, who – probably rightly – perceive a real threat to Hong Kong's freedom and autonomy'³²⁶.

³²³ Basic Law of Hong Kong, art. 23.

³²⁴ Chan et al. (2005) pp.267-268

³²⁵ South China Morning Post, 2 July 2003

³²⁶ The Australian, 4 July 2003

These demonstrations were a clear indication of people's anxiety and concerns about Hong Kong's future and had a great impact on local politics. They finally resulted in the government's decision to withdraw the National Security Bill.

Behind the people's sensitive reaction was Hong Kong's status as a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. China's sovereignty over Hong Kong is based on the 'one country, two systems' policy and the Basic Law of Hong Kong ensures that Hong Kong enjoys a high degree of autonomy³²⁷. It is therefore easily imagined how anxious people were for fear of losing the freedom.

The attitude of Hong Kong people when they face such difficulties has gradually become different from the colonial era under the British rule. Unlike the early 1990s, for example, emigration has not been a popular choice since the handover. The number of emigrants from Hong Kong that once reached 60,000 decreased to about 13,000 in 1999, and has been steady at more or less 10,000 yearly since then³²⁸. This might be an indication that more and more Hong Kong people identify themselves with the territory, compared with the time when a majority of residents were China-born refugees as previously described. At the same time, as life in Hong Kong after the handover turned out to be more stable than had been anticipated, people did not feel it necessary to leave Hong Kong.

How people in Hong Kong faced the SARS epidemic in 2003 was also the evidence of the threefold Hong Kong mentality. It started from an unknown fear reporting the mysterious death of a Hong Kong man. A brief news report about the man's death was one of the earliest before the whole city was overwhelmed with the nightmare of the disease.

A Hong Kong man had died in hospital from a mystery illness soon after

³²⁷ Basic Law of Hong Kong, art. 12.

³²⁸ Census and Statistics Department, The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

returning to the territory from the mainland, a report said yesterday. The man died on Tuesday, 11 days after he was taken to hospital, local radio reported³²⁹.

Within only a week from this, 50 staff at Prince of Wales Hospital were diagnosed with atypical pneumonia³³⁰. The situation became more and more serious day by day. Without knowing the cause of the disease, people had to wear a facemask everywhere, travellers with flu-like symptoms were not allowed to check-in at the airport, and all schools were closed to prevent the spread of the disease. There was even a rumour that the disease was a bio-terror attack³³¹. In such an uncertain and fearful state, the economy of Hong Kong was affected. It was reported, for example, that some airline companies reduced the services to Hong Kong as the number of passengers fell, and that occupancy rates of the leading hotels plunged³³².

Despite this circumstance, however, the flexible Hong Kong people made a business opportunity from it.

Outside the emergency unit at the Prince of Wales Hospital, a salesman handed out fliers promoting his company's air purifiers. Atypical pneumonia – Hong Kong, Guangzhou and Vietnam already plagued. Use Bonaire air-purifiers to lower the risk of infection, the Chinese-language flier read. Special offers as low as \$441, effective until 28th of April – but date may be extended as long as the flu attack continues. Sam Au, 50, said he had distributed 300 fliers in three hours³³³.

³²⁹ The Standard, 7 March 2003

³³⁰ South China Morning Post, 13 March 2003

³³¹ South China Morning Post, 17 March 2003

³³² The Advertiser, 19 April 2003

³³³ South China Morning Post, 15 March 2003

Hotels also started special promotions for Hong Kong residents in order to cover up the huge loss caused by a sudden decrease of visitors from overseas. The movement was later expanded as a community-wide campaign, 'We Love HK', initiated by the Tourism Coalition of Hong Kong, made up of the Board of Airline Representatives, Federation of Hong Kong Hotel Owners, the Hotels Association, and the Travel Industry Council. Shoppers who spent 1,000 dollars at a local tour company, hotel, restaurant or retail outlet during the campaign period could purchase an air ticket at a discounted rate of about 1,000 dollars³³⁴. Although these efforts were obviously a means of boosting up the Hong Kong economy, without mental flexibility, they would not have been done in such a manner during the epidemic of the terrifying disease.

The issue of people's identity was mentioned in the previous chapter, particularly in relation to the influence of China upon Hong Kong people's identity. One's identity, however, does not necessarily remain the same over the years. It could change if, for example, his/her society's status changes³³⁵. In the case of Hong Kong, it is natural to imagine that there has been a change in people's identity especially since to the reunification with China. It is considered that the change in their identity is closely linked with their mentality.

There is no doubt that the cultural identity of Hong Kong people is rooted in China since over 90 per cent of the Hong Kong residents are ethnic Chinese. As was previously mentioned, a large majority of Hong Kong people are immigrants from China. While many fled the political disorder in China, many also held a deep sense of kinship with their fellow Chinese on the mainland³³⁶. Nonetheless, from the late 1970s onward, many Hong Kong people began psychologically to distance themselves from the mainland

³³⁴ The Standard, 29 April 2003

³³⁵ Kim & Ng (2008) p.232

³³⁶ Ma & Fung (2007) p.173

Chinese as Hong Kong people developed a sense of superiority over the mainland Chinese with Hong Kong's rapid economic growth. It is noteworthy that dual identities were observed there again; one that originated from different parts of China as their spiritual symbol, and the other that was developed locally with the British imposed rituals and norms, such as a sense of freedom protected by the long-established legal system, as their physical background.

However, the media has been flooded with icons and images of China, mixing and blending with existing Hong Kong icons since the early 1990s³³⁷. This was done as an attempt to accustom the residents of Hong Kong to living under a totally new political system. A report on six sets of surveys conducted in 1996-2006 reveals how Hong Kong people were feeling about prominent icons of cultural and national identity in China and Hong Kong, including the Great Wall of China, the People's Liberation Army, Public Security (police), the National Flag, the National Anthem and the Emblem of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region³³⁸. It was pointed out that Hong Kong people had persistently showed, throughout the ten years of pre- and post-reunification, high respect and affection for the Great Wall of China as the most illustrative cultural and historical icon³³⁹. This suggests that most Hong Kong people strongly identify themselves with the cultural and historical aspects of their Chinese heritage.

On the other hand, military icons such as the People's Liberation Army and Public Security in China were the icons about which Hong Kong people felt most uncomfortable about in the 1996 survey, but turned out to be more positive about in the 2006 survey. The feeling of unease towards the PLA dropped from 30.3 per cent in 1996 to 7.5 per cent in 2006, while the feeling of pride went up from 10 to 28.8 per cent respectively³⁴⁰. Similarly, national icons such as the national flag, the national anthem or the Great Hall of the People

³³⁷ Ibid. p.176

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid. pp.176-177

in Beijing showed a positive move especially between 2002 and 2006 although the majority of respondents were still reluctant to have pride or affection towards these icons³⁴¹. A similar tendency was observed towards the local icons such as the Hong Kong SAR emblem or the night view of Victoria Harbour. A strong emotional attachment to local cultural icons was found while a weaker political identification was revealed. The latter must be related to the historical background since local people have not been deeply involved in politics.

The results of these surveys indicate that Hong Kong people possess mixed feelings towards the cultural, military, and national icons of China. On the one hand, they see a positive emotional attachment to cultural and historical symbols. On the other hand, they feel reluctant to accept political and military symbols of the nation. The results also imply that the cultural identity of Hong Kong people is shifting towards one more positively associated with China after the reunification. That Hong Kong people have taken more pride in and show more affection for the cultural symbols in China, together with the fact that they also see high value in the local cultural symbols, suggests that they have dual cultural identities. This transition towards a more Chinese associated dual identity corresponds to the change in social identification of people that was mentioned above.

Just before the twenty first century dawned, the Asian financial crisis hit Hong Kong. Hong Kong was also facing a situation where the Hong Kong administration was required to deal with economic globalization. Nevertheless, the Hong Kong government's approach basically remained unchanged with little progress in social policy development³⁴². Having experienced economic success in the past, the government of Hong Kong was convinced that the policy of low tax rates and low public expenditure constituted an important aspect of the business-friendly environment and should be maintained³⁴³. An

³⁴¹ Ibid. p.177

³⁴² Lee (2005) pp.298-299

³⁴³ Ibid.

expansion of social programmes would lead to higher tax rates and higher public expenditure. Hong Kong did not go for that direction since social provision is secondary to economic development under the free market doctrine. However, the free market ideology and the strategic decision to develop a knowledge-based economy in fact widened the gaps between the rich and the poor.

From the perspective of the economic development of Hong Kong too, pragmatism is closely related to the Hong Kong mentality. With the Hong Kong government's positive non-interventionism as the background, Hong Kong people have developed the mindset of self-reliance due to limitations in the social policy. They had to be practical in order to make a living as social welfare was insufficient. For example, in Hong Kong there was no mandatory system to protect people financially after their retirement. It was only in 1995 when the Mandatory Provident Fund (MPF) Schemes Ordinance was enacted, and it took another 5 years until the MPF Scheme was formally implemented as a retirement protection. Before the Scheme's implementation, people had to rely on their savings after retirement as there was no financial assistance from the Hong Kong government. It was therefore important for them to pursue financial stability for their post-retirement life. Hong Kong's free market policy and low tax rates have cultivated a society in which people's diligence and perseverance are rewarded. People's pragmatic attitude was thus formed. It is therefore natural for them to place higher priority on economic value than anything else.

Hence, Hong Kong has had an environment where people's pragmatism is cultivated. First of all, traditionally, the colonial government did not offer sufficient social programmes to support local people's lives in return for taking a stance of non interference in economic activities of the private sectors, and for keeping low tax rates. People were therefore required to be self-reliant financially and, to some extent, made to be pragmatic as their efforts paid off under such a structure. Second, the government's expectation of a

good citizen was deeply associated with his or her economic contribution. Naturally economic well-being was regarded as the goal of society, and more importantly of individuals in Hong Kong. The economic value would thus come as the first priority in making any decisions.

Thus, various factors, many of which originated from changes Hong Kong had experienced, can be considered to contribute to forming the Hong Kong mentality. Although the impact of these factors may not be as large as that of colonial factors or China factors, it is equally significant in analyzing the Hong Kong mentality.

Chapter 4 Defining the Hong Kong Mentality

The previous chapters characterized the Hong Kong mentality as demonstrating insecurity, flexibility and pragmatism. From the perspectives of Hong Kong's peculiar situation as a colony, it has been pointed out that the insecurity had existed in people's mind since the early days of the colony until Hong Kong experienced a drastic change in the 1970s. The colonial administration, with its discriminatory nature, created the insecure feeling of Hong Kong people. Every rule was set by the British-based administration whose members were simply appointed by the British government, giving no opportunities for the local Chinese to elect them. A very limited number of Chinese were involved in the administration or judiciary, in which case they were British educated elite. The exclusion from local politics forced people to be pragmatic to protect themselves.

They felt uneasy and insecure since policies were made by a government consisting mostly of the British expatriates who possessed little knowledge of the Chinese social and cultural customs. Furthermore, the local people's voice was rarely heard as there were no representatives who truly understood the local people's problems. They were in a disadvantageous position even in the legal system. There existed discriminatory regulations on the local Chinese in order to protect the interest of the British and Europeans. With this insecurity as a background, people had to adapt themselves to the environment since their alternative was to return to China, which might cause more difficulties and hardship. This situation made people flexible in order to survive.

Hong Kong was made a bilingual community under the colonial government. Furthermore, in a society where the Chinese account for over ninety per cent of the ethnicity, being educated in English was thought to be superior to attending a Chinese-medium school. Behind this tendency existed people's, especially parents', pragmatism. They strongly believed that the English-medium schools would guarantee

their children a brighter future. It originated from a particular kind of elitism that was cultivated during the colonial era. Education itself was not open to everybody. In such a circumstance, being educated in English was already a status. This preference towards the English-medium education is still often observed even after Hong Kong's sovereignty was handed over to China. It is interesting to find that the community which consists mostly of the Chinese prefers to be educated in English, a language that is rarely used in their daily life. This not only reflects the pragmatism of people but also indicates their flexibility that they would take any measure in order to achieve success.

China's influence can never be neglected in discussion of the Hong Kong mentality. In relation to the local people's identity issues, it was realized that Hong Kong people possess dual identities in different aspects: as Hongkongers or as Chinese depending upon the situation. People tend to identify themselves as Hongkongers in the contexts of freedom, political cleanliness, living standard or competitiveness in the international market, while they are proud of being Chinese in the contexts of cultural heritage and national achievements like the successful manned space mission and the Olympic Games in Beijing. On the one hand, Hong Kong people identify themselves by distancing away from people on the mainland. On the other hand, they like to be regarded as Chinese. This flexibility is again a unique mentality generated from the insecurity that people have experienced. Because most Hong Kong Chinese were refugees who escaped hardship from mainland China, they did not hold a positive view about the living standard of the mainland.

Hong Kong has seen tremendous historical changes in which insecurity and uncertainty grew in people's mind since its establishment as a British colony. By living through various changes that were out of their control, people learned to adapt themselves to new environments. They become skilful in tackling the uncertainty and insecurity caused by those changes. The primary background of this is the fact that the local people

were given very little chance to have their demands reflected in local government's policies and had no choice but to accept the reality to survive under the colonial administration.

The Hong Kong people's insecure feeling cultivated through living under the colonial administration reached the highest level in the mid-1980s when they realized that Hong Kong's return to China became inevitable. The increasing number of emigrants from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s was clear evidence of such insecure feeling. The flexibility of their mentality is also demonstrated by their attitude to leave their hometown relatively easily just for the purpose of finding a better, or at least more secure, life somewhere out of the territory. It is also an evidence of the flexibility of Hong Kong people that many of the emigrants who had left Hong Kong returned to the territory after they realized that their new life in the new place did not provide them with better opportunities than in Hong Kong. For example, the 2001 Census revealed that about 86,000 residents out of the total population of 6.4 million were returnees from overseas³⁴⁴. Many of them were educated, middle-class managers and skilled professionals who had once worried that Beijing might renege on its promise to maintain Hong Kong's freedoms and capitalism for 50 years after 1997. After emigrating to Australia, Canada or the United States, they faced hardships, such as language barriers, cultural difference and the challenge of building a new life from scratch, which made them decide to return³⁴⁵. In most cases, however, they returned only after securing their residency in the foreign country in order to keep the option open to leave Hong Kong again.

Pragmatism was also a characteristic of the Hong Kong mentality. Since the establishment of Hong Kong as a British colony, its main role had been regarded as a British economic base in the East. The stance of the government is to take a non-intervention policy to encourage the local people's engagement in economic activities.

³⁴⁴ Ley & Kobayashi (2005) p.116

³⁴⁵ The San Francisco Chronicle, 6 January 1991

The government also supported this policy with a low tax system. On the other hand, the lack of social welfare in general made people realize the necessity of financial security for themselves, and forced them to prioritise the pursuit of financial gain. With these factors combined, people came to see things from a pragmatic viewpoint. Economic value takes priority when Hong Kong people make decisions.

The Hong Kong mentality can therefore be characterised as insecure, flexible and pragmatic. These three characteristics, however, are interrelated and do not stand alone. Because people felt anxious about the insecurity in their life, they had to be flexible in order to adapt themselves to different situations. Because of the insecurity, people had to trust and rely on themselves instead of on the government. This made them pragmatic. Because they were pragmatic, they needed to make flexible decisions to achieve the best result.

The following parts will focus on the development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong with reference to the influence of the Hong Kong mentality which has been defined and described in Part I. From the viewpoint of the demand for Japanese studies, the following section will be divided into three periods, namely, the Period of Low Demand (Part II: Chapters 5 and 6), the Period of Growth of Demand (Part III: Chapters 7 and 8) and the Period of Expansion of Demand (Part IV: Chapters 9 and 10).

The Period of Low Demand will investigate the situation from the establishment of the colony until 1960. It will be revealed that there was no prominent demand for Japanese studies during this period. Chapter 5 will describe what kind of demand appeared in colonial Hong Kong. Particular attention will be drawn to the Japanese studies under the Japanese occupation as the first and only large-scale Japanese education in Hong Kong during the Period of Low Demand. It will then be considered in Chapter 6 how Japan was viewed by Hong Kong people and how the Hong Kong mentality had affected the

perception of Japan, which consequently hindered the development of Japanese studies during this Period of Low Demand.

The Period of Growth of Demand covers the period from the 1960s to 1980s, during which Japanese studies emerged and grew. Chapter 7 will look into the dramatic development in this period. A number of Japanese courses started to be offered. Further, the field of Japanese studies grew rapidly. Chapter 8 will analyse the background of this sudden growth of Japanese studies and the role played by the Hong Kong mentality in this respect. Changes in Hong Kong-Japan relations will also be examined.

The Period of Expansion of Demand refers to the period since the 1990s. In this period, new types of demand for Japanese studies emerge. Chapter 9 discusses the diversification of the demand for Japanese studies and how such demand was met, with a special focus on recent developments in the field. This is followed by Chapter 10, which analyses and discusses the association between the diversifying demand and the Hong Kong mentality.

PART II: PERIOD OF LOW DEMAND

This Part first investigates the level of the demand for Japanese studies from the early days of Hong Kong as a British colony until the 1950s, when Hong Kong was in the process of recovery from damage caused by the World War II. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the demand was low during this period. Nor did it arise from people's interest in Japan. The situation under which the demand arose will also be analysed.

Chapter 6 will analyse the factors contributing to the low demand. Hong Kong people's perception of Japan will be discussed in the contexts of the Hong Kong mentality. It will also explore Hong Kong-Japan relations during the period to see if there were any correlations with the low demand.

Chapter 5 Demand Initiated Only by the Local Government

In the latter half of the nineteenth century since the cession of Hong Kong to Britain in 1843, there was no sign of emergence of Japanese studies. The major reason behind this was the relative weakness of the Japanese presence in Hong Kong as will be further described in the next chapter. It was not until the early twentieth century that some records of Japanese studies in the region appeared.

A letter sent from Consul Noma to Baron Komura in 1903 shows that, through the Japanese Consulate-General, the Japanese government was requested to recommend some Japanese language textbooks for the Hong Kong government. The request was made by the Education Department as there were voluntary learners of Japanese among the civil servants at the Hong Kong government³⁴⁶. Another request was made in 1904, this time from the British government, and it was for the introduction of a

³⁴⁶ Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR): Ref. B12081985500

Japanese language instructor who would serve the British China Squadron. The British Admiralty made arrangement for naval officers to study the Japanese language, and the instructor was required to be stationed partly at Wei-hai-wai and partly at Hong Kong³⁴⁷. The purposes for learning Japanese at that time are not clear from these documents, but these were the one of the earliest records to indicate the commencement of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. The colonial government recognized the importance of Japanese studies at the official level and the necessity of Japanese-speaking personnel. This is evidenced by the appropriation of a sum of 100 dollars in 1915 for Language Study Allowance (Japanese) to a Cadet P. Burn³⁴⁸ and the payment of 600 dollars in 1919 under the category of language bonuses to a Cadet North, who was qualified in Japanese³⁴⁹.

It seems that the emergence of Japanese studies at the official level as in the above cases was not necessarily welcome by the Japanese government. International relations were still unstable at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is easy for the Japanese authorities to cast doubt on any study of Japanese as for the purpose of espionage. For example, correspondence from Funatsu, the Vice-Consul for Japan in Hong Kong, to the Japanese Foreign Minister Hayashi in 1908 cited a newspaper report on the study of Japanese in the French colony of Indo-China as follows;

The military authorities in Indo-China have just taken steps to encourage the study of the Japanese language among both officers and soldiers there. The anti-Japanese party in the Colony hail this measure with joy. They see Japanese spies and intrigues everywhere, and hope that the military linguists will be of service in detecting these secret agents.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷ Correspondence from Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary Claude MacDonald to Baron Komura on 30 August 1904

³⁴⁸ Quarterly Return of Excesses on Sub-heads Met by Savings under Heads of Expenditure for the 3rd Quarter of 1915

³⁴⁹ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 21 June 1919

³⁵⁰ JACAR: Ref. C04014391000

As this report was sent by the Vice-Consul for Japan in Hong Kong, it is likely that the emergence of Japanese studies at the official level in Hong Kong was viewed with caution in a similar manner.

Thus in Hong Kong, while Japanese studies first emerged at the official level in the early twentieth century, this however likely had politically motives. Demand for Japanese studies did not yet appear at the local and personal level. Consequently there were no institutions that offered courses in Japanese studies.

Since Hong Kong had a unique background as a British colony, a direct comparison with mainland China would not be meaningful. Yet, the development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong was far behind the neighbouring Guangdong province. In 1930, based on information collected through Japanese consulates, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted a survey on the state of Japanese studies in China. It found that at that time several institutions including the Sun Yat-sen University, Lingnan University and other tertiary and secondary schools were already offering Japanese language courses in Guangdong³⁵¹. The same survey also reported that people in the region had increasingly shown their interest in Japan, and Japanese language courses were being offered at three language schools, nine tertiary institutions and four secondary schools³⁵². According to the survey report, although the level of those courses, which were all taught by local teachers, was still low, the students were all eager as the majority of them intended to study in Japan in future. Apart from these institutions, the Society of Japanese Studies (*Nihon Kenkyuu-sha*) was established with an objective to enhance people's learning and understanding of Japanese culture and its affairs³⁵³.

In the following year, another report was published on the situation of Japanese

³⁵¹ JACAR: Ref.B02130929600

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid.

studies in Guangdong. This report clearly mentioned that Guangdong had long had more people going to Japan for study or on business purposes than any other provinces in China, which consequently inspired people's interest in learning Japanese and Japanese affairs³⁵⁴. In short, by the early 1930s, Japanese studies had already shown such a degree of development in mainland China, especially in Guangdong, that did not occur in Hong Kong for another few decades.

In Hong Kong, there was only one tertiary institution at that time: the University of Hong Kong which was established in 1911. As compared with the situation in Guangdong, no Japanese courses were offered at the University of Hong Kong until 1965 (as will be discussed below in Chapter 7). At that time, education, including university education, was still considered in Hong Kong as an opportunity to acquire Western knowledge, rather than a pursuit of personal interests. In addition, educational opportunities were limited to only a small group of people. Even though the Japanese community in Hong Kong was growing³⁵⁵ and increasingly visible in the eyes of the people in Hong Kong, people still did not become eager to learn about Japan or Japanese.

A turning point regarding the demand for Japanese studies in Hong Kong came when the Japanese military government occupied Hong Kong during the World War II. The policy of the Japanese occupational government created the demand for Japanese studies in a large scale for the first time. However, as will be shown in the discussions below, there was strong political motive behind the promotion of Japanese studies during this period by the Japanese authority: enhancing the construction of the Greater East Asia Sphere as propagandised by the Japanese government.

In December 1941, the Japanese took over from Britain sovereignty over Hong Kong and established a military government. At the early stage of the occupation, however, there were no official remarks on the usage of Japanese in the occupied territory. Yet, it

³⁵⁴ JACAR: Ref. B05016120300

³⁵⁵ Reports on the Census of the Colony for 1901, 1906 and 1911

was stated in a report that personnel who understood Japanese would be used as far as possible in the services of the military government and would be accommodated in certain places in the city in order to improve the over-crowded situation in camps³⁵⁶. Although this implies that those who could understand Japanese were treated better, it only applied to European and American captives of war. Regarding the Chinese who understood Japanese, nothing was mentioned in the report.

Meanwhile, the policy on the use of Japanese in school education was clearly stated in January 1942. This was long before the reopening of local education, which had been suspended since the Japanese occupation. A newspaper article in January 1942 reported as follows:

The Japanese authorities have announced a fundamental principle that the Japanese language must be used in school education, and the Committee has decided upon resumption of activities along this line³⁵⁷.

While the use of Japanese was not made compulsory at the administrative level, this policy practically intended to make the Japanese language obligatory in education. The qualification required for the teachers was set by the Japanese authority.

All former school teachers must enter Administration classes for learning the Japanese language. When they have passed their examination, they will first be employed in the lower schools, until gradually the higher class schools are established³⁵⁸.

³⁵⁶ JACAR: Ref. B02032576300.

³⁵⁷ The Hong Kong News, 19 January 1942

³⁵⁸ The Hong Kong News, 17 January 1942

The policy indicates that the Japanese military administration aimed at educating Hong Kong's younger generation so that they would rally local people's cooperation for political matters in future.

In view of the fact that Hong Kong was under military occupation at that time and that interest in Japanese studies did not quite exist before the occupation, it was highly likely that very few people wished to learn Japanese out of their interest. In fact, a Japanese newspaper *The Hong Kong Nippo* suggested on 20 August 1942 for establishment of free Japanese schools so that anyone could learn Japanese, that the interest in Japanese of local people be raised, that proper textbooks be made by the administration and that experienced teachers be recruited³⁵⁹. Judging from these suggestions, it is obvious that Japanese language education was not at a satisfactory level at the early stage of the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong.

Nonetheless, Japanese was anticipated to be adopted as the common language for all people in Hong Kong. As a result, the number of Japanese learners increased. Although it was stated that the adoption of Japanese as the common language should go a long way to promoting better and fuller understanding among all classes of people, it was hoped by the Japanese authority that 'in future the people would gradually adopt the use of the Nipponese language in filling applications and requests made to various government departments', and learning Japanese was officially encouraged³⁶⁰. Under this background, the military administration issued the Governor's Order No.15 titled "Regulations for Private Classes in the Nipponese language" in April 1942³⁶¹. Under this Order, any person wishing to open a class for teaching Japanese (except classes with less than 10 students and no tuition fees) was obliged to obtain permission from the Office of the Governor. It is commented that one objective of such requirement was the acquisition of data on the

³⁵⁹ Saito (1995a) p.214

³⁶⁰ *The Hong Kong News*, 17 April 1942

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

situation of Japanese education in the territory³⁶².

Under the Japanese occupation, Japanese studies developed rapidly in Hong Kong. In 1943, there were 52 Japanese language schools with nearly 7,000 learners, about 4,600 male and 2,300 female learners, and 112 teachers³⁶³. These were not insignificant proportion of the population. At that time the Japanese military government was enforcing a policy to minimize the population by forcing Chinese residents to leave Hong Kong³⁶⁴. The population of about 1.5 million in the territory at the beginning of occupation showed a drastic decrease within two months³⁶⁵. It was reported that 460,000 Chinese left Hong Kong for their country districts in the mainland at the beginning of February 1942 and this caused the total population to drop to only about a million³⁶⁶. At the end of occupation in 1945, there were only 600,000 people left³⁶⁷. In other words, there must have been a huge decline in the population by 1943, which was likely to be in the range between 600,000 and one million. Therefore, Japanese education that involved 7,000 learners could be considered as of quite a large scale. Development of Japanese education during the Japanese occupation is discussed in detail below.

A teacher training programme was the first step taken along with the implementation of the language policy. As early as February 1942, just two months after the commencement of the Japanese occupation, the military administration was ready to establish an institute to train Chinese elementary school teachers ‘so as to be fit *for cultivating useful personnel required in the construction of the Greater Co-Prosperty Sphere in East Asia* (emphasis added)’³⁶⁸. The political motive behind the programme is clear. The Teachers’ Training Institute formally opened on 7 February 1942 and 75 men

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Saito (1995a) p.214

³⁶⁴ Kobayashi & Shibata (1996) p.85

³⁶⁵ Ibid. pp.88-89

³⁶⁶ The Hong Kong News, 2 February 1942

³⁶⁷ Tsang (2004) p.127

³⁶⁸ The Hong Kong News, 27 January 1942

and 75 women were selected from 750 applicants to undergo a two-month course on elementary teaching³⁶⁹. The syllabus of the course consisted of Japanese, general knowledge, Japanese affairs, physical culture, and so on. It was reported that 148 of the teachers successfully completed the course and were given certificates³⁷⁰.

Soon afterwards, the second course at the Teachers' Training Institute was inaugurated on 17 April 1942 with 300 students selected from over 1,000 applicants³⁷¹. This time two classes, which were extended to three-months long, were held; one in Hong Kong and the other in Kowloon. 276 successful candidates out of 300 received diplomas on completion of the course³⁷². At the graduation ceremony, it was remarked by the Chief of the Education Department that the graduates would be helped by the Education Department and other departments of the Government Office which would assign work for them whenever possible³⁷³. As far as the number of applicants for the training course is concerned, the Teachers' Training Institute made a good start. However, it is doubtful whether these trained teachers were really qualified as teachers of Japanese. It was reported that they were assessed through translating Chinese into Japanese, conversation and oral tests but many of them failed and needed to retake the course³⁷⁴. Nonetheless, no matter what qualification they possessed, it is undeniable that these teachers contributed much to supporting the expansion of Japanese education. Once they had completed the training programme, they were allocated to local private primary and secondary schools as well as Japanese language schools³⁷⁵.

Some of these Japanese language schools were operated on a private basis, while others were managed by Japanese military units. While some private schools were

³⁶⁹ The Hong Kong News, 8 February 1942

³⁷⁰ The Hong Kong News, 3 April 1942

³⁷¹ The Hong Kong News, 18 April 1942

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ The Hong Kong News, 21 July 1942

³⁷⁴ The Hong Kong Nippo, 14 July 1942

³⁷⁵ The Hong Kong News, 21 July 1942

established before the Japanese occupation, new schools were registered along the issue of Regulations for Private Classes in the Nipponese Language in response to the increasing demand³⁷⁶. Because the Japanese learning was not made compulsory in Hong Kong under the occupation, Japanese language schools tried to offer attractive courses to have more learners. For example, the Hong Kong Tenri Japanese School set a daily two-hour course for two and a half yen³⁷⁷ so that people would not have the excuse that the courses were too expensive to attend. It is also possible that there was political motive behind this. A Japanese textbook compiled by this school and published in 1943 in its preface encouraged people to cooperate for establishing a new order in the East Asia by learning Japanese although it was also wished that the book would be an appropriate reference for the learners and teachers where it was difficult to find one³⁷⁸. This clearly showed the political motive behind Japanese education at that time although the content of the book itself was not designed for promoting the Japanese nationalism or any type of propaganda. Some of the military-owned schools offered free courses, sometimes even with meals³⁷⁹. From these examples, it is clear that there was less demand than supply even though the number of learners of Japanese showed a drastic increase. As a matter of fact, Japanese studies during this period were to some extent controlled and promoted by the military administration. However, the demand did not reach their expectation because the majority of local Chinese could not afford it and, above all, they did not have strong motivation. In addition, as discussed above and below in this thesis, there was political motive behind the promotion of Japanese studies by the military government. The demand, if any, was created under such circumstances. It did not emerge out of the local people's real intention.

Nonetheless, Japanese learning was very strongly encouraged by the military administration. Japanese language examinations were held on a regular basis as

³⁷⁶ The Hong Kong News, 17 April 1942

³⁷⁷ Hatazawa (2008) p.12

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ The Hong Kong News, 24 February 1944

encouragement. Two examinations were held each year. The lower level examinations (1st, 2nd and 3rd class) were held in October while the higher level ones (4th and 5th) were held in May³⁸⁰.

The Governor's Order No.16 (issued in April 1942) also resumed local school education. Upon such resumption of local education, Japanese language education expanded. The re-opening of schools had a significant meaning for the Japanese military government. There clearly is a political motive behind this. This can be seen in the words in the war-time media, the *Hong Kong News*, (which as discussed below had a close relation with the military authority):

Teachers of schools here must realise their responsibility *to aid civilisation in the Greater East Asia Sphere* (emphasis added). In the past the Hong Kong education system has been an obstacle to the progress of East Asia reconstruction. Therefore a stop should be made to this, and the future education programme must be shaped in accordance with the natural tendency of East Asian thought *with the object of spreading Nipponese civilisation* (emphasis added)³⁸¹.

In May 1942, twenty private schools were approved to reopen, followed by ten primary schools in August, and the total number rose to 54 by October the same year³⁸². The twenty schools sanctioned in May included Wah Yan Middle School and Primary School, Pui Ching Middle School for girls, Pui Ching Primary School and St. Louis School and Primary School for boys. Each of them admitted 400 to 600 students. These schools were required to include a four-hour Japanese class per week in their curriculum, which had to

³⁸⁰ The Hong Kong News, 19 March 1944

³⁸¹ The Hong Kong News, 21 April 1942

³⁸² Chen & Yang (2004) pp.215-217

be taught by persons who had completed the teacher training programme discussed above. However, the level of the Japanese classes is doubtful because, as already pointed out above, many of the trainees had not performed very well in the training programme, which was very short. As mentioned, there was political motive behind the promotion of Japanese education which drove the military government to pursue its realisation. In reality, however, many Hong Kong children of school age did not even have the opportunity of receiving education at that time. It is estimated that there were about 150,000 of such children³⁸³. In great contrast, there were only 3,200 students studying at the reopened primary and secondary schools at the beginning of 1943³⁸⁴ although the number substantially increased to 16,300 by the end of the year³⁸⁵. This is still only a small minority of the total population of children of school age.

A possible cause of the low rate of enrolment in these private schools was their tuition fee. Because only private schools were allowed to reopen under the regulation, education was not free. Under the Japanese occupation, most Hong Kong residents were experiencing financial hardship in a place where insufficient goods were supplied. To make the situation worse, the Hong Kong Schoolmasters' Association, due to steep rise in prices, submitted a request to the Education Department in November 1943 for an increase in the school fee³⁸⁶. The request was granted and the increase took effect from the second term starting in August 1944³⁸⁷. At first glance, it seems that the school fee was not set very high when a comparison is made with the commodity prices at that time. After the aforesaid increase in August 1944, school fees were seven yen per month for Primary schools and ten for Middle schools³⁸⁸. At that time, chicken and pork were sold at 45.5 yen and 37.6

³⁸³ Kobayashi & Shibata (1996) p.287

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Ibid. pp.287-288

³⁸⁶ The Hong Kong News, 24 November 1944

³⁸⁷ The Hong Kong News, 12 July 1944

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

yen per catty (about 500 grams) respectively³⁸⁹, which were much more expensive than the school fees. However, these high prices of basic necessities already made people's daily life very hard, to the extent that they had to remove their children's education from their list of priorities.

Although Japanese language education in the occupied territory was far from ideal, along with the language policy implemented under the occupation, the Japanese military administration started to expose local people to the Japanese language also through the media that it had a close relationship with: *The Hong Kong Nippo* and its English version, *The Hong Kong News*. *The Hong Kong Nippo* had been the only Japanese newspaper published in Hong Kong and was originally privately owned. After the outbreak of the World War II, it was sponsored by the governor-general of Taiwan³⁹⁰, which was a Japanese colony at that time. The newspaper therefore had a close relationship with the Japanese military government and was in a position to be made use of for propaganda. Once the Japanese occupation commenced, both *The Hong Kong News* and the Chinese version of *The Hong Kong Nippo* reserved some space to set up a Japanese language course. 'Japanese: A Lesson a Day' thus started on 8 February 1942 with its first lesson on the Japanese syllables³⁹¹. It mainly focused on grammatical explanations of the language and commonly used phrases. The name was changed to 'Nipponese: A Lesson a Day' on 22 April 1942 and lasted until 21 July 1942. On completion of the course, it was stated that arrangements were being made to publish a further course of introductory lessons, and that it was planned to issue a series of advanced lessons for those who had already gained some proficiency in the language through the course³⁹².

The actual effect of the course, however, was not satisfactory. Instead of an advanced level course, a revised introductory course 'Japanese: Simplified Daily Lessons'

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Saito (1995a) pp.214-215

³⁹¹ *The Hong Kong News*, 8 February 1942

³⁹² *The Hong Kong News*, 21 July 1942

began on 30 January 1943. On the commencement of the new series, it was admitted that the first series had not been an effective one.

As it has been found that the series of Japanese lessons being published in the Hongkong News is a bit too detailed and lengthy for the average reader, it has been decided to adopt a new and simplified system by which the student will first build up a vocabulary by learning a few frequently-used words every day with a note or two on the grammar³⁹³.

Readers were assured that they would acquire quite a useful vocabulary in a few weeks and the ability to converse in Japanese in a comparatively short time through the course. It is true that the course was much simplified compared to the previous series, but not much improvement was observed in terms of effectiveness. For example, Lesson 31 introduced 3 Japanese sentences with their pronunciation in Roman alphabet, supplemented with English and Chinese translation. The sentences were 'That is a mountain', 'It is a high mountain' and 'There is a tower on the mountain'³⁹⁴, which would be of dubious use for daily life in Hong Kong. The second series finished before April that year.

The third series started on 11 July 1943 under the title 'Japanese Lessons' and was published four times a week. This time, the lessons were extracted from *the Complete Course of Japanese Conversation-Grammar* compiled by Oreste Vaccari and his Japanese wife Enko Elisa Vaccari, who had been devoting themselves to a life-long study of methods of fostering the teaching of Japanese among foreigners³⁹⁵. The choice of book written by Italians was due to the political background of that time, but in fact the content was similar to the previous two series. There was a remark on the demand for the Japanese

³⁹³ The Hong Kong News, 30 January 1943

³⁹⁴ The Hong Kong News, 5 March 1943

³⁹⁵ The Hong Kong News, 11 July 1943

lessons in the first issue of the course:

In response to the numerous requests which have been received in this office from readers, the Hong Kong News starts from today the publication of a new series of Japanese Lessons³⁹⁶.

Yet, as *The Hong Kong News* was under strong influence from the Japanese authority and was used to spread Japanese ideology, it is doubtful how much demand was actually arising at that time. This third series was published irregularly by a later stage and finished on 7 June 1944 without notice³⁹⁷.

Although the outcome of these Japanese lessons in the newspaper was considerably limited in terms of the actual language skills, the lessons had a certain effect as daily exposure to the language for local people. One of the characteristics of Japanese studies during this period is thus defined that it was led by the Japanese authority aiming at the construction of the Greater East Asia Sphere.

Another resource to diffuse Japanese learning to Hong Kong residents was a radio programme. The Japanese military government took possession of the radio station upon the beginning of the occupation in order to control information. The resumption of regular broadcasting was announced in early January 1942 and programmes of varied interest were provided from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. daily³⁹⁸. Apart from music and news programmes of 15 to 30 minutes, a 1-hour Japanese programme was scheduled between 7:30 and 8:30 every day. Taking advantage of it, an occasional 20-minute programme on Japanese learning was broadcast during the occupation³⁹⁹. As opposed to the Japanese lessons in *The Hong Kong News* that mainly dealt with the grammatical knowledge of Japanese, the radio programme

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ The Hong Kong News, 7 June 1942

³⁹⁸ The Hong Kong News, 9 January 1942

³⁹⁹ Saito (1995a) p.216

was focused on communicative competence in the language. Whatever differences between the two types of Japanese educational means might be, they contributed to the emergence of the first large scale Japanese studies in Hong Kong.

In addition to promoting Japanese language education, the military authority also made other attempts to educate Hong Kong's youth to lead them to become pro-Japanese. For example, the East Asia School (*Toa Gakuin*) was established in April 1943 pursuant to the regulation for the East Asia School which was issued in March 1943⁴⁰⁰. The school's objective was set as providing teacher training and practical training based on Japanese morals to nurture skilled teachers and administrative officers who could respond to new demands. The courses were divided into two classes – higher and ordinary. Languages, principles of public citizenship and public morale, physical training and music were taught in the higher class. It also included lessons on Japanese-Chinese translation, the teaching of the true Oriental spirit and Japanese morality customs and social habits⁴⁰¹. As it was one of very few educational institutions for the youth, over 100 local Chinese enrolled in these training courses⁴⁰².

As indicated by the subjects taught, the East Asia School, unlike the teacher training centre set up at the early period of occupation, focused not on the Japanese language but on practical skills and knowledge with Japanese morals. The political motive behind the establishment of the School is clear. From the perspective of the military administration, this was easier, quicker and more effective to diffuse Japanese ideology through moral education than training teachers of Japanese. At the first graduation ceremony held on 20 March 1944, it was mentioned that over 80 out of 100 some graduates were assigned jobs in various government departments and other

⁴⁰⁰ Kobayashi & Shibata (1996) p.289

⁴⁰¹ The Hong Kong News, 5 March 1943

⁴⁰² Ibid.

organizations⁴⁰³. The aim of the School was even declared more explicitly at the second commencement ceremony on 1 April 1944, when the Principal declared that the School was not an institution merely for the purpose of imparting knowledge of Japanese to the students or of training students to think or act as Japanese subjects, rather its objective was to train students to become worthy citizens and worthy subjects⁴⁰⁴. He also mentioned that a large number of Chinese failed to realize the importance of Japan in East Asia, which Sun Yat-sen had once pointed out. However, the School in its second year could not enrol as many students as before. Only 10 students passed the entrance examinations for the Advanced Course and 32 for the Ordinary Course⁴⁰⁵. It was intended to enrol 180 students: 120 for the Ordinary Course and 60 for the Advanced Course, for the second term⁴⁰⁶. This may be due to the reason that the residents of Hong Kong refused to accept the school policy in which Japan's significant role in East Asia would be emphasized. Many local Chinese might have such feelings because their living standard increasingly worsened.

The situation further deteriorated in the following year despite attractive announcement inviting applications for the third term. It was specifically mentioned that free tuition, board and lodging were to be provided for the students. However, despite this attractive offer, it was reported that only 21 students had passed the entrance examination for the Advanced and Ordinary Courses to start the third term on 20 April 1945⁴⁰⁷ although forty seats were made available for the Ordinary Course and no specific number was set for the Advanced Course⁴⁰⁸. It was stated that the 21 students were selected from a large number of candidates who sat for the examination. However, this is likely an exaggeration. It is unrealistic to assume that there was much demand for these courses at a time when Hong Kong residents' daily lives had been devastated with the prolongation of

⁴⁰³ The Hong Kong News, 21 March 1944

⁴⁰⁴ The Hong Kong News, 2 April 1944

⁴⁰⁵ The Hong Kong News, 26 March 1944

⁴⁰⁶ The Hong Kong News, 27 February 1944

⁴⁰⁷ The Hong Kong News, 18 April 1945

⁴⁰⁸ The Hong Kong News, 1 April 1945

the War. In addition, as discussed above, the demand for Japanese education was created by the Japanese authority out of political motives. It did not emerge out of the local people's real intention and interest.

It is not known who the main group of the learners were during this first wave of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. Those who attended the Teachers' Training Institute were mostly teachers, but they were in fact obliged to take the course in order to resume working as teachers. It is therefore unlikely that they really demanded the opportunity of learning Japanese. The situation was rather that they had no other alternatives. In addition, the courses only ran for two or three months. Therefore, it is unlikely that the teachers had been sufficiently trained to be truly qualified Japanese-teaching personnel. Similarly the local schools had no alternative but to include Japanese language classes in their curriculum to meet the criteria set by the Japanese military administration for their re-opening. For those who chose to study Japanese, it was highly likely for practical reasons. Judging from the fact that there were twice as many male learners as female learners at Japanese language schools, it can be imagined that many of them associated the learning of Japanese with a better life in future. They might feel a need or an advantage in such study. This is especially the case when they could not foresee how their future life would be. As education was still male-dominated and considered to be a ticket to higher social status at that time, learning Japanese gave people a similar impression.

On the other hand, as was evident from the decreasing number of applications for the East Asia School, Hong Kong was experiencing a hard time as the War was prolonged. There was no room for local people to be motivated to study under that situation. Since the East Asia School placed its focus on enhancing students' understanding in the Japanese customs and ideology and Japan's role in the Greater East Asia Sphere, it did not meet the demand of people who needed practical skills in order to make a living.

The first wave of large scale of Japanese studies in Hong Kong did not last for

long. On 15 August 1945, the Japanese government accepted the terms of the Potsdam Declaration issued by the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union and China. World War II had finally come to an end. The Japanese occupation of Hong Kong for three years and eight months similarly came to an end.

As seen in the discussions above, Japanese studies during the Japanese occupation were initiated and controlled by the military administration. The demand, if any, existed just because local people had no choice but to accept and follow the language policy implemented by the military government in the territory. Under such a policy, schooling at private primary and secondary schools required the inclusion of some Japanese classes. Teachers were obliged to enrol in a teacher training course and learn the Japanese language, customs and ideology before resuming their teaching jobs. The military administration also made use of newspapers and radio programmes to promote Japanese studies to the general public in the process of constructing the Greater East Asia Sphere. The demand for Japanese studies was thus, in one sense, created by the Japanese military administration.

Naturally, the ending of the War also brought an end to those schools and courses that provided Japanese studies during the Japanese occupation. Because the “demand” during the Japanese occupation was as aforesaid created and not genuine, such demand could not sustain after Britain’s resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong from Japan. Even though not many people were satisfied by the return of the British, their life under the Japanese military administration, especially in the latter half, was miserable. They did not have any interest in learning about Japan, which would bring back painful memories. For over a decade after the end of the World War II, therefore, there was no prominent demand for Japanese studies.

In summary, what characterized the demand for Japanese studies during the Period of Low Demand was the role of Hong Kong’s administration, be it the British colonial

administration or the Japanese military authority. Demand for Japanese studies first emerged at the British colonial government level in the early twentieth century. Japanese classes were organized in a government department as well as a British naval squadron. Although the scale in these cases was small, the fact that the demand for Japanese studies appeared at the official level hints at a peculiarity of demand during this period. They likely had political or military objectives, rather than out of personal interests. Therefore, the first movement of Japanese studies was created by the colonial administration.

Then, a larger scale of Japanese studies was seen during the Japanese occupation. In this case too, it was the local administration that led the rapid development. The objectives of the military administration were obvious. As discussed above, the study of Japanese language and culture was intended mostly as propaganda for Japan's role in constructing the Greater East Asia Sphere. Those who enrolled in Japanese courses did so for survival under the Japanese occupational government.

In the next chapter, the background of the Period of Low Demand will be examined. It will find out why a demand of local people for Japanese studies did not arise, with reference to the presence of Japanese and the Hong Kong mentality.

Chapter 6 Lack of Demand and Lack of Presence

The previous chapter described the demand for Japanese studies in Hong Kong before 1960. There was no noticeable demand until the early twentieth century, when some Japanese language classes were organized at the government level. There was a larger demand during the Japanese occupation. During three years and eight months of Japanese occupation, Japanese was taught at various language schools or through newspapers and radio programmes. However, as discussed in Chapter 5, the demand was created by the Japanese military administration and did not reflect the local people's genuine intention. This chapter will discuss the background of the low demand, and analyze how the Hong Kong mentality influenced the lack of genuine demand for Japanese studies.

First of all, the reason behind the lack of demand for Japanese studies in the nineteenth century will be examined. It will be followed by an analysis of the factors contributing to the emergence of Japanese studies at the official level in the early twentieth century.

As was described in Chapter 5, there was no record that systematic study of Japan or Japanese was carried out in the nineteenth century's Hong Kong. It is argued here that the weak presence of Japanese in Hong Kong and the difficulties faced by the local people contributed to the lack of demand for Japanese studies. When Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in 1843, Japan had long been under the seclusion policy and had no diplomatic relations with the British. For the first decade of British Hong Kong until Japan ended its close-door policy in 1854, there were no official contacts between the two places. At that time, Japanese people were prohibited from going abroad or being engaged in transnational trading activities under the close-door policy.

However, occasionally, some Japanese might make contact with foreigners when

they were rescued by foreigners from shipwreck. As early as 1845, at least four such Japanese nationals had resided in Hong Kong⁴⁰⁹. Originally drifted ashore in the Philippines or other areas and sent to Macau first, they then did manage to sail for Japan with the help of an American merchant C.W. King on board the *Morrison* and arrived at Edo Bay (now Tokyo Bay) on 30 July 1837⁴¹⁰. However, under the seclusion laws, all foreign ships approaching Japanese coast would be driven off by force. Coastal batteries opened fire on the ship, which left the ship no choice but to leave Edo Bay⁴¹¹. The *Morrison* sailed for Kagoshima but met the same treatment. It finally sailed back to Macau. The four Japanese went to Hong Kong with a hope that they could return to their homeland from there⁴¹². One of them opened a sewing shop and another started a Chinese goods shop⁴¹³. Thus, they might be the first Japanese who lived in Hong Kong before Japan's ending its close-door policy. Due to their small number, it is unlikely that their existence at that time in Hong Kong had any noticeable impact.

During this period, Britain was taking an active attitude in expanding its trade with China and the Far East. On the other hand, there was no strong and imminent motive to open trade with Japan. It was partly because the trade with China had begun and the opportunities there were thought to be almost limitless⁴¹⁴. The British had no intention of taking the risk of approaching the little-known and seemingly unprofitable market. As a result, there was no basis for any interest in Japanese studies in those very early days of Hong Kong.

When Japan finally opened its door to the world after the visits of the so-called 'black ships' led by an American, Commodore Perry, in 1853 and 1854 and signed the first U.S.-Japanese treaty, the British did not miss the opportunity. Britain and Japan signed the

⁴⁰⁹ Fujita (1988) p.128

⁴¹⁰ Beasley (1995) pp.26-28

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Akaiwa (1988) p.133

⁴¹⁴ Beasley (1995) pp.31-32

Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty in 1854 and Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1858. These treaties marked the beginning of official Hong Kong-Japanese relations. Once the trade between Britain and Japan commenced, Hong Kong became a gateway to Japan for the British⁴¹⁵ and British-Japanese trade accounted for 80 per cent of Japan's foreign trade by 1860⁴¹⁶. However, despite this, Japan's existence was not immediately recognized in Hong Kong as there were very few Japanese residing there in the early days of the colony.

At such time, there were some official visits by Japanese representatives to Hong Kong. For example, a Japanese delegation to the U.S. called in at Hong Kong on its way home in 1860⁴¹⁷. Another team did the same on its way to and back from Europe in 1862 and 1863⁴¹⁸. Commercial activities with Japan also began right after the entry of the Anglo-Japanese treaties. A Hong Kong-based British merchant Jardine, Matheson & Co. opened an office in Yokohama in 1859 and became the first foreign merchant established in Japan after its re-opening⁴¹⁹. Yet, this was still only one of few cases in the mid-nineteenth century⁴²⁰.

Regarding the official relationship between Hong Kong and Japan in the late nineteenth century, Governor Hennessy, who was in post from 1877 to 1882, was said to have a deep interest in Japan and desired to visit the country⁴²¹. The Japanese government, on knowing his wish, immediately expressed a positive response to making the governor's visit possible. Hennessy finally paid a visit to Japan in 1879. He departed the colony on 31 May and returned on 6 September of that year⁴²². The fact that he made such a lengthy visit, in spite of his busy schedule, was a clear indication of his fondness for Japan.

⁴¹⁵ Fujii (1988) p.103

⁴¹⁶ Miyanaga (2006) p.18

⁴¹⁷ Chen & Yang (2004) p.6, Miyanaga (2006) pp.47-53

⁴¹⁸ Chen & Yang (2004) pp.6-7

⁴¹⁹ Chen & Yang (2004) p.5

⁴²⁰ Miyanaga (2006) pp.47-53

⁴²¹ Okuda (1937) pp.82-83

⁴²² The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 4 June 1879, 10 September 1879

Hennessy's successor, Governor Bowen was also a pro-Japanese official and visited Japan in 1884, where he received a warm welcome from the Japanese government⁴²³. Unfortunately, however, their visits were simply out of their rather personal interest⁴²⁴, without giving much stimulation to the Hong Kong-Japanese relations. Nonetheless, considering that Japan was very little known at that time, the two visits of Hong Kong's top officials could be taken as an important step towards the later development of the diplomatic and economic ties between the two regions.

An official recognition of Japan in the British colony of Hong Kong was made slightly earlier than these official visits by the British. The Japanese Consulate in Hong Kong was established in 1873, the second oldest Japanese overseas mission in Asia after Shanghai⁴²⁵. A brief announcement was given by the colonial government that Hayashi Michisaburo had arrived in Hong Kong to take up the position as Vice-Consul for Japan prior to the official opening of the Japanese Consulate on 20 April 1873⁴²⁶.

Regardless of this official existence of Japan in Hong Kong, the presence of Japanese in the colony was almost invisible. The number of Japanese nationals who resided in Hong Kong at that time was still very limited. There were only 13 Japanese people living in the British colony in 1875, two decades after Japan ended its seclusion policy⁴²⁷. As the total population in 1876 was 139,144⁴²⁸, it is easy to imagine how little the general public realized the existence of Japanese residents.

In addition to trade and diplomatic interactions, there was cultural interaction. As early as 1867, a group of Japanese performers, and in 1871, the Japanese Juveniles Troupe and Mikado Troupe were reported to hold performances in Hong Kong⁴²⁹. These were

⁴²³ Okuda (1937) pp.167-170

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Okuda (1937) p.170

⁴²⁶ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 19 April 1873

⁴²⁷ Fujita (1988) p.128

⁴²⁸ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 24 February 1877

⁴²⁹ Chen & Yang (2004) pp.11-13

probably the earliest Japanese cultural activities held in Hong Kong. Among them, Mikado Troupe visited and performed in the territory for three consecutive years, one of which Governor Kennedy attended⁴³⁰. These cultural exchanges between Japan and Hong Kong might to some extent raise people's interest in Japan. However, the effect should be relatively small. At that time, very few local Chinese people could enjoy such social events. As discussed in Chapter 1, at that time, there were strict restrictions and regulations imposed on Chinese residents. For example, the Chinese were required to carry a pass to go out at night⁴³¹. Many of them belonged to the lower class of the society. These social occasions should be beyond their affordability and should have little relevance to them. In addition, this was before the opening of the Japanese Consulate and there were very few Japanese living in Hong Kong. It is doubtful how many ordinary Chinese people in Hong Kong knew about the country and had interest.

From the mid-1870s, there was a gradual increase in the Japanese population in Hong Kong. In reality, however, many of them were women engaged in prostitution⁴³². Consul Suzuki, appointed in 1879, was disappointed with the situation in which the Japanese residents carried out no noticeable business activities⁴³³. He analysed and made suggestions to the Japanese government as to how the Japanese could compete in Hong Kong's prosperous trade market⁴³⁴. From this point as well, it is obvious that the Japanese were not very closely linked with Hong Kong society. Thus, the period between the 1860s and 1880s was only the beginning of the Hong Kong-Japanese relationship. There was no deep mutual exchange yet.

The situation slightly changed with the advancement of large Japanese companies into Hong Kong. Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Nippon Yusen and Osaka Shosen were among the

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ordinance No.2 of 1857, Ordinance No.9 of 1857, Ordinance No.14 of 1870

⁴³² Okuda (1937) pp.275-280

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

first group of Japanese companies that established their offices in Hong Kong⁴³⁵. An early record relates how the opening of such steam-ship lines between Hong Kong and Japan would accelerate the trading between the two.

The Mitsu Bishi Company (Japanese) opened their line of Steam-ships from Yokohama and Kobe &c., to Hongkong in October 1879, and these vessels have run with great regularity. The ships have good speed, are well officered and manned and bid fair to be strong competitors for a more extended direct trade than the Japanese at present possess⁴³⁶.

The late-1870s and the early 1880s saw the establishment of the first business ties between Hong Kong and Japan. It would later contribute to the development of Hong Kong-Japanese relations, but it was not yet at the level of nurturing local people's interest in Japan.

Mitsui Bussan Kaisha opened an office in 1878, which was upgraded to a branch two years later⁴³⁷. Kogyo Shokai also established a branch in 1878, followed by Mitsubishi Kaisha in 1879⁴³⁸. The rush of these large trading companies to a tiny British colony signifies the hope and expectation of their further development in southern China although their existence in Hong Kong was yet to be fully recognized by Hong Kong society. However, as a matter of fact, it was difficult for these companies to make reasonable profits. In 1882, only a few years after their establishment, Mitsui Bussan and Kogyo Shokai discontinued their business in Hong Kong due to financial difficulties⁴³⁹.

As discussed in Chapter One, one of the characteristics of the Hong Kong

⁴³⁵ Annual Report of the Harbour Master for 1879

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Chen & Yang (2004) pp.21-24

⁴³⁸ Ibid. p.22

⁴³⁹ Ibid. p.27

mentality is pragmatism. People's decision-making would be based on their judgement as to whether a benefit would arise. In terms of trade, Japan did not merit much attraction from local people in nineteenth century Hong Kong. Since trade with Japan was not significant to Hong Kong. This can be seen from the relatively small number of ships entering Hong Kong from Japan around that time. For example, in 1875, only 72 ships (representing a mere 0.3 per cent) out of the 26,000 vessels that entered the port of Hong Kong were from Japan⁴⁴⁰.

On the other hand, the Japanese side viewed Hong Kong as a potential base for Japan-Canton trade. In his report to the Finance Minister Shigenobu Okuma in 1874, Vice-Consul Taro Ando stated that Canton province was the most important base for trading through South China Sea and anticipated that Japan would benefit from it⁴⁴¹ and raised the concern that the Japanese had not yet realized Hong Kong's potential. It was reported that there was only one Japanese shop opened in Hong Kong at that time⁴⁴². In response to the report, the Japanese government showed interest in expanding trade with Canton through Hong Kong and instructed the Consulate-General to provide information on port tax regulations of Hong Kong and the amount of capital needed to open a Japanese shop⁴⁴³. In March 1875, Ando requested the Japanese government permit his return to Tokyo so that he could have a detailed discussion on Japan-Canton trade with Okuma⁴⁴⁴.

A number of incidents demonstrated the Japanese government's interest in trading with southern China. Not long after its establishment in Hong Kong, the Japanese Consulate faced financial difficulties in continuing its operation. In July 1873, it requested the Japanese government to provide financial assistance. As a result, an assistance of 1,680 yen was offered to the Consulate-General in Hong Kong⁴⁴⁵. In 1875, due to doubts about

⁴⁴⁰ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 18 March 1875

⁴⁴¹ JACAR: Ref. A03031099800

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ JACAR: Ref. A03031101900

⁴⁴⁴ JACAR: Ref. A01000009400

⁴⁴⁵ JACAR: Ref. A01100027200

its financial viability, it was once discussed in the Japanese government whether the Consulate-General in Hong Kong should remain open⁴⁴⁶. Vice-Consul Ando recommended maintaining the operation on the grounds that there was a possibility of expansion in trade with southern China despite the absence of significant exchange at that moment⁴⁴⁷. Persuaded by Ando, the Japanese government finally decided to continue the operation in great anticipation of benefit from the trade⁴⁴⁸.

Trade was not the only motive behind the Japanese government's interest in Hong Kong. The latter was also viewed as a base through which updated information about China could be obtained. This can be seen from the fact that the Finance Minister Okuma had instructed Ando to pay special attention to Hong Kong and neighbouring areas' situation and report immediately on any important matters⁴⁴⁹. From the Japanese point of view, therefore, Hong Kong was playing a significant role due to its special geographical location.

As Ando had expected, Hong Kong's position as an important trading port for Japan started to be realized. The number of ships from Japan showed a gradual increase. When Mitsubishi opened a regular steam ship line between Hong Kong in 1879, 105 vessels (representing 0.6 per cent) out of 19,000 were from Japan⁴⁵⁰. The percentage was still small but there was already noticeable increase from the mere 0.3 per cent in 1875. The Hong Kong government also held the hope that the opening of regular steam-ships line under Mitsubishi would result in expansion of trade⁴⁵¹.

As shown in Table 6.1, there afterwards was a steady increase in the number of Japanese ships that entered Hong Kong. This no doubt had contributed to the Hong Kong-Japanese economic relations. However, such an increase did not lead to noticeable

⁴⁴⁶ JACAR: Ref. A01100099800

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ JACAR: Ref. A01000012500

⁴⁴⁹ JACAR: Ref. A03030237700

⁴⁵⁰ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 17 March 1880

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

increase of interest in Japan among Hong Kong people. They, as discussed in Chapter 1, were in straitened and insecure circumstances.

Year	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
Ships from Japan	122	181	288	336	414	429	648
Total vessels entering Hong Kong	20,801	27,102	27,626	31,100	23,205	25,764	20,499
Percentage	0.58%	0.67%	1.04%	1.08%	1.78%	1.67%	3.16%

Table 6.1: Number of ships from Japan entering Hong Kong. (Data from the Harbour Master's Reports for 1885, 1890, 1895, 1900, 1905 and 1910)

Yet, with this development, the population of Japanese residents gradually increased to 163 in 1886, 201 in 1890 and 484 in 1901, when more companies or small shops were opened⁴⁵². Given that the number of Japanese in 1875 was only 13, the establishment of offices by these Japanese companies did contribute to the growth of Japanese community in Hong Kong. Nonetheless, the total population of Hong Kong also increased. As shown in Table 6.2, the Japanese only accounted for about 0.1 per cent of the Hong Kong population in the late nineteenth century.

	1886	1891	1897	1901
No. of Japanese	163	201	335	484
Total population	200,990	221,441	241,762	283,975
Percentage	0.08%	0.09%	0.14%	0.17%

Table 6.2: Japanese population and total population in Hong Kong in the late-19th century. (Data from Fujita (1988) p.129, Reports on the Census for 1886, 1891 and 1901, and Report on the Blue Book for 1886)

They were still an insignificant minority. In addition, as was mentioned above, the number of Japanese included women engaged in prostitution. As a result, there was a low level of knowledge of Japanese in the society.

At the official level, Japanese residents' existence was not officially recognized

⁴⁵² Fujita (1988) p.129

until 1897. Despite the increase in the number of the Japanese in Hong Kong, it was only in 1897 when Japanese as a nationality was particularly mentioned in the census report. This might be due to the fact that Hong Kong was a British colony and therefore Europeans and Americans, albeit also small in number, were considered more important in the census reports. The population of Hong Kong was categorized as “Europeans and Americans”, “Nationality other than Europeans, Americans and Chinese” and “Chinese”. While the first category “Europeans and Americans” was further classified according to the nationality such as “British”, “Portuguese”, “German”, “French”, etc., there was no such sub-categorization in the second category. In the earlier censuses, it was even just categorized as “Indians, etc.” without further classification. The Japanese residents were literally invisible in the colony’s official documents.

Not everyone in the nineteenth century’s Hong Kong was guaranteed an opportunity of receiving education. For example, in 1880, only 6,587 of 16,402 children of school-attendance age were in education, at government schools, grant-in-aid schools or private schools⁴⁵³. In other words, only 40 per cent of these children could receive education. Even though there was a subsequent increase in the number of school-attending children, more than half of school-age children remained uneducated (Table 6.3).

	1880	1883	1886	1890	1893	1896
No. of students	6,587	7,758	8,062	9,644	12,123	9,347
Children of school-going age	16,402	20,738	18,200	19,350	31,034	24,158
Percentage	40.2%	37.4%	44.3%	49.8%	39.1%	38.7%
No. of uneducated children	9,815	12,980	10,138	9,706	18,911	14,811

Table 6.3: Total number of students attending schools, number of children of local-school age, and number of uneducated children in the late-19th century. (Data from the Educational Reports for 1880, 1883, 1886, 1890, 1893 and 1896)

While education was exclusive to the elite minority among the local Chinese,

⁴⁵³ The Educational Report for 1880

Japanese students had once occupied a prominent proportion of non-Chinese students in elite schools. With the gradual increase of the Japanese population in the colony during the late nineteenth century, there were Japanese among the non-Chinese students. In July 1889, the Government Central School was renamed Victoria College. The annual report of the College mentioned that, during the years 1889 to 1891, it had 10 Japanese enrolled, along with 790 Chinese and Eurasians, 23 English, 4 Germans, 8 Hebrews, 1 Hindu, 36 Mohammedans, 1 Parsee and 46 Portuguese⁴⁵⁴. The Japanese therefore constituted a significant proportion of the non-Chinese students in the College during these years. As Victoria College was the top local school, the noticeable existence of Japanese among the group of non-Chinese students can be considered as demonstrating the relatively visible existence of Japanese in the local elite society of Hong Kong at that time. However, this did not have much impact on the general population in the colony. First, even among the elite minority in this College, the number of non-Chinese students increased at a much slower pace than that of Chinese students⁴⁵⁵. Second, elite society itself was a very tiny minority in the community at that time. The relatively visible existence of Japanese in the elite circle, therefore, was not significant enough to generate interest in Japan among local people.

Thus, even though the Japanese community in Hong Kong was showing gradual growth, it did not attract much attention from local people. Hong Kong itself at that time was still facing a number of difficulties. As a result, the general public in Hong Kong had a strong sense of uncertainty and insecurity. First, Hong Kong is situated in a geographical location prone to typhoon in some months of the year. Huge typhoons can cause severe damage, particularly in those early years of Hong Kong when weather forecast technology was not as advanced as now and, as discussed in Chapter 1, a significant proportion of the population was boat people. For instance, as a result of a huge typhoon in 1874, over 200

⁴⁵⁴ Annual Report of the Head Master of the Victoria College for 1889

⁴⁵⁵ Annual Report of the Head Master of the Victoria College for 1893

houses were destroyed or rendered uninhabitable⁴⁵⁶. The destruction of Chinese junks and small boats was said to be too large to estimate⁴⁵⁷. It was reported that 17 Europeans and 796 Chinese had died⁴⁵⁸. These were severe losses and damage. Hong Kong only had a total population of 121,985 in 1872 and 139,144 in 1876⁴⁵⁹.

Second, in addition to natural disaster, piracy was rampant. This was demonstrated by the report of the *Spark* incident at that time. In August 1874, the British steamer *Spark* was seized by pirates and the Master and crew were murdered. A reward of 1,000 dollars was offered for information leading to the apprehension of the offenders, and later fourteen Chinese men were captured and brought to trial⁴⁶⁰. Eight of them were executed shortly after confessing their guilt. It was reported that the heads of these criminals would be exposed *in the usual manner as a warning* (emphasis added). This indicates the common occurrence of such kind of incidents at that time.

The Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1894. The British government announced its neutrality upon the breakout of the war and the announcement was issued in its colony Hong Kong too⁴⁶¹. As Hong Kong was not involved in the war, there was no direct physical damage. Hong Kong-Japanese trade was not affected much during the war; in fact it actually showed an increase. While 325 ships with 533,000 tons of goods came from Japan in 1894, 336 vessels with 619,000 tons and 401 vessels with 754,000 tons came in 1895 and 1896 respectively⁴⁶².

However, these figures included both Japanese and non-Japanese vessels as far as they sailed from Japan to Hong Kong. The number and tonnage of Japanese vessels in reality decreased substantially from 1894 to 1895 (see Table 6.4). On the other hand,

⁴⁵⁶ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 17 October 1874

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 24 February 1877

⁴⁶⁰ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 14 November 1874

⁴⁶¹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette Extraordinary, 8 September 1894

⁴⁶² The Harbour Master's Reports for 1894, 1895 and 1896

during the same period, the total number and tonnage of vessels entering Hong Kong showed a slight increase (see Table 6.4). This indicates that Japanese interest had suffered as a result of the war despite the neutrality of the British colony at that time.

Year	1893	1894	1895
Vessels (Japanese)	37	49	27
Tonnage (Japanese)	50,147	76,735	48,884
Total vessels	28,050	27,248	31,100
Total tonnage	7,015,251	6,975,215	7,617,003

Table 6.4: Number and tonnage of Japanese vessels and all vessels entering Hong Kong. (Data from Harbour Master's Report for 1893-1895)

Even though trading with Japan did not show a negative impact during the Sino-Japanese war, Hong Kong people's attention was firmly on the epidemic of bubonic plague that occurred in the same year. It was officially reported that nearly 2,500 people, most of whom were Chinese, had died from the Plague⁴⁶³. However, the actual situation could be much worse than this. First, the number did not include dead bodies found in town and sent straight to the burial ground⁴⁶⁴. Second, the Japanese government issued a regulation to inspect all ships from Hong Kong in order to prevent the disease from spreading to the country⁴⁶⁵. This indicates the seriousness of the situation.

Related to this plague is another incident which shows the low level of awareness, knowledge and attention regarding Japan. Professor Shibasaburo Kitasato from Japan discovered the cause of the plague in Hong Kong. Kitasato found the bacillus of the plague. His team received a warm welcome from the acting superintendent at the Civil Hospital, a Scottish doctor named James Alfred Lowson⁴⁶⁶. Kitasato was already a world renowned bacteriologist at that time. His discovery of the bacillus contributed much to the

⁴⁶³ Medical Report on the Epidemic of Bubonic Plague in 1894

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ JACAR: Ref. A03020174600, The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 23 June 1894

⁴⁶⁶ Solomon (1997) p.129

improvement of the living conditions of Hong Kong. Despite all these, the Japanese team's efforts went largely unnoticed by Hong Kong people. In contrast, on his return to Japan, Professor Kitasato was conferred the Order of the Rising Sun in recognition of his achievement⁴⁶⁷. The difference in the recognition of Kitasato's contribution demonstrates the lack of awareness and attention regarding Japan among Hong Kong people. They were living such a hard life that they still could not afford to care about things that did not directly affect their daily lives.

In short, the presence of Japanese was very weak in the nineteenth century's Hong Kong. The number of Japanese residents was still small. Trade between Hong Kong and Japan was still at an early stage of development. With such weak presence, it is difficult to have any significant growth of interest in Japanese studies. In addition, as was discussed earlier, the daily life of ordinary Hong Kong people was far from satisfactory. In particular, discriminatory laws and regulations were imposed on the Chinese residents under British rule. The influx of refugees from the mainland caused overcrowding. There were sanitary problems causing such incidence as the outbreak of bubonic plague. All these contributed to the ordinary people's insecure feelings. This impeded the emergence of interest in Japanese studies. Therefore, Hong Kong in the nineteenth century did not see a rise in demand for Japanese studies.

In the early twentieth century, there was a slight change. The study of Japanese language emerged, although it was of small scale and was seen at the official level only. The historical development at that time will be discussed below with the objective of investigating the factors contributing to the emergence of Japanese studies and the lack of its development beyond the official level.

At the turn of the century, the Boxer Rebellion occurred in China. This later led to

⁴⁶⁷ JACAR: Ref. A10112434300

the strengthening of diplomatic relationship between Britain and Japan, as evidenced by the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The Boxer Rebellion was an anti-colonialist and anti-Christian movement by the Righteous Harmony Society that took place in Beijing in June 1900. Eight foreign powers, including Britain and Japan, were involved in settling the uprising. The incident in the north of China was noted with fear by the Hong Kong colonial authority, as shown in the minutes of the Legislative Council quoted below:

The Foreign Settlements of Tientsin were attacked, large numbers of foreign missionaries and native Christians have been murdered under circumstances of horrible barbarity, and for eight weeks the Legations of all the Foreign Powers in Peking were closely besieged by Chinese soldiers, aided by Boxers⁴⁶⁸.

With the Boxer Rebellion, the British realized that their commercial supremacy in the Far East was directly threatened as the trade of northern China was falling into Russian hands, and even in the south, in the valley of the Yang-tse-kiang, Russian merchants and commission agents were replacing British agents⁴⁶⁹. The advance of Russian influence in China caused anxiety to the British authority. Under such a situation, Britain needed an ally in the Far East to oppose the Russian advance. Japan, whose interests had been trampled upon by Russia after the Sino-Japanese War and who was also searching for an ally, was naturally selected⁴⁷⁰. Japan and Great Britain thus signed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance treaty on January 30 1902. The impact of the Rebellion on the conclusion of the treaty is evidenced by the following quotation from the colonial Gazette of 18 April 1902:

⁴⁶⁸ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 1 October 1900

⁴⁶⁹ Seymour (1916) p.131

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

Throughout the troubles and complications which arose in China consequent upon the Boxer outbreak and attack upon the Peking Legations, the two Powers have been in close and uninterrupted communication, and have been actuated by similar views⁴⁷¹.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was said to aim at maintaining strict neutrality in the event of either of the two countries being involved in war, and of coming to one another's assistance if either one was confronted by the opposition of more than one hostile power⁴⁷². This diplomatic tie between the two was of great importance for Hong Kong too as a British colony because it was functioning as an important trade base for the British in the Far East. However, there were other motives on both the British and the Japanese sides behind the conclusion of this treaty.

For Japan, the Treaty had a significant political meaning. It helped in raising its political status in the world⁴⁷³. In fact, the conclusion of this Treaty between Britain and Japan surprised the world. At that time, Japan's political power in the world was still weak, while Britain was leading the Western world.

During the first term of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902-5) Japan was virtually an unknown quantity in world politics. Only when she had fought and defeated Russia did the world realize that she was destined to become a factor of the utmost importance in the Far Eastern situation⁴⁷⁴.

In addition, Japan had an interest in China and Korea while Britain wanted to secure their

⁴⁷¹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 18 April 1902

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ The Peking and Tientsin Times, 29 March 1920

⁴⁷⁴ The Peking and Tientsin Times, 29 March 1920

interests in China. These in fact were explicitly stated in the Treaty:

Having in view, however, their special interests, of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea, the high contracting parties recognize that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other power, or by disturbances arising in China or Korea,...⁴⁷⁵

As both countries' interests were threatened by Russia, it was relatively easy for them to reach an agreement.

On 12 August 1905, while Japan was involved in the Russo-Japanese War, the Treaty of Alliance was revised. The revised Treaty ensured Britain's strict neutrality against the Russo-Japanese War, clearly stating that in case some other powers should join in hostilities against Japan, Britain would come to the assistance of Japan⁴⁷⁶. A further revision was made in accordance with the political situation at that time in 1911 with the same objectives.

Despite the conclusion of the Treaty between Britain and Japan, the Russo-Japanese War still brought some damage to Hong Kong-Japanese economic relations. The War broke out in 1904. The total tonnage of foreign vessels showed a 22 per cent decline between 1904 and 1905, which was considered to be largely due to the disappearance of all Russians and almost all Japanese ships from the run since the war

⁴⁷⁵ The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Art. I.

⁴⁷⁶ The Anglo-Japanese Alliance (revised on 12 August 1905), Art. VI.

began⁴⁷⁷. As shown in Table 6.5, there was substantial decline in the total number and tonnage of vessels visiting Hong Kong from Japan in 1904 and 1905.

Year	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Vessels	315	336	411	468	51	29	301
Tonnage	649,603	692,981	865,612	1,017,383	114,951	34,573	642,572

Table 6.5: Number and tonnage of vessels from Japan entering Hong Kong in the early 20th century. (Data from Harbour Master's Report for 1900-1906)

Similarly, a huge decrease was recorded in the number of Japanese ships entering Hong Kong during the Russo-Japanese War. The number of Japanese-flag steamers which entered Hong Kong dropped from the number of 69 in 1903 to 30 in the following year, and then to 10 in 1905 (see Table 6.6).

Year	1903	1904	1905	1906
Japanese-flag steamers	69	30	10	68

Table 6.6: Number of Japanese-flag steamers entering Hong Kong in the early 20th century. (Data from the Reports on the Blue Book for 1904 and 1906)

This severe impact from the War shows the relative instability of trade between Hong Kong and Japan and the fact that it was easily affected by external factors. Nevertheless, as shown in Tables 6.5 and 6.6, there was a quick recovery afterwards in 1906. Trade development and the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance resulted in a better recognition of Japan's presence in Hong Kong in the early twentieth century than before.

At the same time, the Japanese population in Hong Kong showed a significant increase. As shown in Table 6.7, the number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong increased from 335 in 1897 and 484 in 1901 to 857 in 1906 and 958 in 1911⁴⁷⁸. This is likely caused partly by the growth of Sino-Japanese trade protected by the Anglo-Japanese Agreement.

⁴⁷⁷ Annual Report of the Harbour Master for 1904

⁴⁷⁸ Reports on the Census of the Colony for 1901, 1906 and 1911

Although the proportion of the Japanese in the population did not change immediately (due to the increase of the total population simultaneously), the increase in number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong did make them more visible in society than before.

	1897	1901	1906	1911	1921	1931
No. of Japanese	335	484	857	958	1,585	1,833
Total population	241,762	283,975	319,803	456,739	625,166	840,473
Percentage	0.14%	0.17%	0.27%	0.21%	0.25%	0.22%

Table 6.7: Japanese population and total population in Hong Kong in the early 20th century. (Data from Reports on the Census for 1897, 1901, 1906, 1911, 1921 and 1931)

A Japanese newspaper, *The Hong Kong Nippo*, began to be issued. Its publication is an indication of the growing Japanese community in Hong Kong. The number of Japanese living in Hong Kong had almost doubled within the first decade of the twentieth century (Table 6.7). Although the percentage of prostitutes was still high, there was diversification of their occupational background. In 1908, it was reported that out of 893 Japanese residents, while about 20 per cent were engaged in prostitution (constituting the largest category), 14 per cent were company employees, 12 per cent grocers and 3 per cent tattooist⁴⁷⁹. Advertisements in *the Hong Kong Nippo* also reveal the diversification of the Japanese residents' occupations/businesses in Hong Kong at that time. There were grocers (for example, Mitsui Yoko, Morita Shoten, Matsuzakaya Shokai, Honda Yoko, etc.), shipping companies (Osaka Shosen which offered regular services to the United States as well as the mainland China, Toyo Kisen which connected Hong Kong with South America, and Nippon Yusen with lines to Europe, Australia, U.S. and Japan), medical practice (Majima Clinic), dental practice (Yamazaki Dental Clinic), chemist (Maruichi Drugstore), photo studio (Umeya Photo Studio), sushi restaurant (Tokuhachi), and Japanese-owned

⁴⁷⁹ The Hong Kong Nippo, 8 September 1909

inns (such as Matsubara Inn, Nomura Inn, Sakaeya Inn, etc.)⁴⁸⁰. A Japanese community began to be established, as evidenced by the foundation of Japanese residents' social organizations. For example, in 1908, the Japanese Residents' Association of Hong Kong was established⁴⁸¹. It was the only Japanese social organization at that time and had over 100 members⁴⁸². A Hong Kong Japanese Youth Club was also founded aiming at the mutual communication and intellectual exchange of the youth. It organized monthly talk for its members⁴⁸³.

In 1909, the Hong Kong Japanese Primary School was established⁴⁸⁴. It was operated by the Japanese Residents' Association of Hong Kong⁴⁸⁵. Taking into account the fact that the Japanese population was estimated at about only 900 at that time, the establishment and operation of a Japanese school is a strong proof that the Japanese community in Hong Kong should have been growing steadily and healthily although the school only offered primary education and no secondary school for Japanese residents had been established yet.

Despite the growth of the Japanese community in the colony, there was concern that Japan could do more for the development of the Sino-Japanese economic relations. Hong Kong was anticipated to become increasingly important to Japan. In the first issue of *The Hong Kong Nippo* published in 1909, Japanese Consul Tatsuichiro Funatsu described Hong Kong as one of the most important commercial ports in Asia and urged Japan to pay more attention to southern China, not only to the north⁴⁸⁶. His remark was supported by the fact that the total export from Hong Kong to China recorded over three hundred million dollars, which was more than three times that of the total export from Japan to China⁴⁸⁷.

⁴⁸⁰ The Hong Kong Nippo, 1 September 1909 and 8 September 1909,

⁴⁸¹ The Hong Kong Nippo, 1 September 1909

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR): Ref. B04011698100

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ The Hong Kong Nippo, 1 September 1909

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

It was previously mentioned that there was few educational opportunities for local children in the early twentieth century. In 1900 and 1910, the total number of students at schools was 9,925 and 11,097 respectively⁴⁸⁸. Then the number showed a striking increase in the following ten years. It reached 28,707 in 1920, which included the students studying at both government schools and private schools⁴⁸⁹. The increase is largely accounted for by the fact that more private vernacular schools in the New Territories came under the control of the Department of Education, while the number of students in English schools under the category of government schools and grant-in-aid schools had risen three times since 1900⁴⁹⁰. Nonetheless, this did not necessarily mean an improvement in educational environment. When the growth of the population during these years is taken into consideration, the insufficiency of educational opportunities is revealed. While the total number of students remained at around 10,000 from 1890 to 1910, the population of Hong Kong doubled during the same period. That of 1891 was 221,441 and that of 1901 and 1911 was 283,905 and 456,739 respectively⁴⁹¹. The population in 1921, by which time the number of students increased nearly three times, was 625,166. In other words, the percentage of people who were in education decreased during the 1890-1910 period. In 1920, the proportion was still the same as that in 1890, with no improvement despite the elapse of three decades. Education was still available only for a limited number of people. In such situation, obviously very few people, if not none at all, would have interest in Japanese studies.

In 1911, the University of Hong Kong was established by incorporating the Hong Kong College of Medicine under the University Ordinance. The primary aim of the establishment, under the Ordinance, was the promotion of Arts, Science and Learning, the

⁴⁸⁸ Report of the Inspector of Schools for the Year 1900, Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1910

⁴⁸⁹ Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1920

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Reports of the Census for 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921

provision of higher education, the conferring of degrees, the development and formation of the character of students of all races, nationalities and creeds, and the maintenance of good understanding of the neighbouring country of China⁴⁹². Its establishment to a certain extent contributed to the improvement of educational opportunities at the tertiary level. However, from the perspective of Japanese studies, there was limited positive impact at that time. In fact, it had a certain negative impact. First, the establishment of the University was intended to lead to the expansion of Western knowledge among the local community. This is obvious from the minutes of the Legislative Council:

The object of the University is that this Colony shall become a centre of higher education in the Far East, that it shall attract here those, especially Chinese, who are in search of *Western knowledge* (emphasis added) instead of subjecting them to a long period of exile in a foreign country⁴⁹³.

Second, its establishment lessened the attractiveness of Japan as an education centre of Western knowledge. At that time, Japan, as a result of the Meiji Restoration, was the first “modernized (from a Western perspective)” society in the Far East. It was functioning as an education centre in the Far East where people could seek Western knowledge. Hong Kong was a British colony. Therefore, those with Western knowledge were considered to be superior and acquisition of such knowledge deemed important. Japan, as aforesaid, was an education centre offering an opportunity to study about the West. For Hong Kong people, it was one of the nearest destinations for that purpose, as evidenced by the minutes of the Legislative Council:

Year by year it (Hong Kong) claims increasing importance as an industrial

⁴⁹² Ordinance No. 10 of 1911

⁴⁹³ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 23 February 1911

centre. Its docks have taught thousands of Chinamen to become skilled workmen, and its schools have educated many of China's prominent administrators. To-day *the thirst for Western knowledge* (emphasis added) has become one of the marked features of the progress of China. Hundreds of students are flocking to the United States, to Europe and *to Japan* (emphasis added), fifty at a time⁴⁹⁴.

The establishment of the University of Hong Kong provided local Chinese who could not afford to study abroad with the opportunity to acquire Western knowledge. Even for those who could afford the overseas study, a local university was more convenient. In short, fewer people would go to Japan to acquire Western knowledge. This reduced the interest in Japan.

Third, holders of a medical degree from the University of Hong Kong were entitled to register as medical surgical practitioners in the colony under the Medical Registration Ordinance, as amended in 1914. As this Ordinance also entitled persons holding a degree, diploma or licence in medicine and surgery of any medical school in countries such as Japan⁴⁹⁵. It is therefore highly likely that some Hong Kong residents had sailed for Japan to acquire relevant qualification and came back to register as a medical practitioner in Hong Kong. Now, with the establishment of the University of Hong Kong and its medical degree being recognised as eligible qualification, there should be less incentive for Hong Kong people to pursue medical study in Japan.

In short, the opportunity to receive education was still comparatively small in the early twentieth century's Hong Kong. At the same time, education was perceived as for acquiring Western knowledge. Such perception obviously hindered the emergence of interest in Japanese studies at the public level. The situation, however, was different at the

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 6 November 1914, 3 December 1914

official level.

As discussed above, with the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, there was stronger relationship between Britain and Japan than before. The colonial government of Hong Kong also recognized the change in Japan's position. Therefore, as discussed in Chapter 5, demand for Japanese studies emerged at the official level. On the other hand, the general public was not affected at all. There was no change from before. Japan's presence was not yet prominent. People's attention was firmly on their insecure daily lives. They generally still suffered from unsatisfactory living standard. They could not afford to nurture any interest in Japan.

After the study of Japanese language was demanded in some occasions at the official level in the early twentieth century, there was again a quiet period during which no prominent demand appeared, until the first large-scale demand was observed under Japanese occupation. In other words, the demand for Japanese studies that occurred in the early twentieth century was an isolated case and did not develop further. At the official level, after the occurrence of a conflict between China and Japan, Hong Kong-Japanese and Anglo-Japanese relations had weakened. At the general public level, people's insecurity continued to be strong. This hindered the development of any interest in Japan. This is the case despite the gradual recognition of Japanese community in Hong Kong and the significance of trade between the two places. Such recognition at least existed at the official level, as evidenced from comments made by an unofficial Legislative Council member (quoted below) when the ordinance for incorporating the Directors of the Japanese Residents' Association of Hong Kong was deliberated:

I may add that *we have a close connection and considerable trade with Japan necessitating the presence of a large number of Japanese residents in Hong*

Kong to care for their business interests, and there is no more highly respected section of the community. If this Bill be passed it will be of much assistance to them and serve as an indication of our feelings of friendship towards them and our readiness *to assist in making their residence in this British Colony as pleasant as possible* (emphasis added)⁴⁹⁶.

The above quoted comments show that trade between Hong Kong and Japan was significant in their mutual relations. In fact, Hong Kong was a more important trading partner to Japan than vice versa. This is clear from the difference in the amount of export and import between the two regions (see Table 6.8). Japan's exports to Hong Kong, both in terms of absolute value and percentage exceeded its imports from Hong Kong⁴⁹⁷. This proves that Hong Kong was an important port for Japan to export Japanese goods. Japan ranked the second, only behind Britain, in terms of vessels engaged in trade with Hong Kong⁴⁹⁸. It was therefore natural that the number of Japanese residents had increased with the strengthened ties.

(1,000 Yen)

Year	1923	1924	1925
Exports to Hong Kong	55,317 (16.3%)	79,010 (23.5%)	73,629 (15.9%)
Japan's total exports	339,618	336,557	463,359
Imports from Hong Kong	1,654 (0.33%)	1,099 (0.1%)	475 (0.06%)
Japan's total imports	505,457	819,699	839,342

Table 6.8: Japan's exports to and imports from Hong Kong with percentage, and the total of Japan's exports and imports (Data from JACAR)

In line with the development in trade, there was an increase in Japan's presence in Hong Kong. The number of Japanese living in Hong Kong rose from 1,585 in 1921 to

⁴⁹⁶ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 16 June 1927

⁴⁹⁷ JACAR: Ref. A09050182400

⁴⁹⁸ Reports of the Harbour Master for 1923-1925

1,833 after a decade⁴⁹⁹. However, again, as Hong Kong's total population itself was on a rise, the percentage that the Japanese occupied remained almost the same. Therefore, there was no significant impact on Hong Kong people's perception of Japan.

In addition, although there was slightly stronger presence of Japanese in Hong Kong through the increase of Japanese residents and mutual trade, Hong Kong's instability was still a serious social issue at that time. A census report describes an incident that reveals a general social anxiety. It was reported that a widespread rumour among Chinese might have affected the accuracy of the census in 1921.

The rumour referred to is in short that the Government intended to build a huge bridge across the harbour to Kowloon resting on 99 piers, and that a certain number of young children of both sexes were required to be buried alive under the foundations of each pier in order to ensure its stability. The numbers increased as the rumours grew, and the highest number which came to my notice was 300 of each sex, while the final embellishment to the tale was the addition of an unfixed number of pregnant women⁵⁰⁰.

Even though the rumour vanished shortly, the fact that many local people believed and feared such a groundless rumour implies that the society was still unstable. As many Hong Kong people at that time had actually fled from instability on the mainland, their insecure feeling could not easily disappear.

Furthermore, Hong Kong experienced a depression in the mid-1930s, which originated from the Great Depression in 1929. According to the Report of the Economic Commission published in February 1935, the imports of the first nine months of 1934 declined by 20.7 and 36.8 per cent as compared with the corresponding periods of 1933

⁴⁹⁹ Reports of the Census for 1921 and 1931

⁵⁰⁰ Report of the Census for 1921, p.156

and 1932 respectively and there was similar decrease in exports⁵⁰¹. Wholesale prices also fell. The price index (with that in the year 1922 as 100) dropped from the peak of 136.6 in 1931 to 95.9 in 1934⁵⁰². As the main cause of this depression was external, people in Hong Kong could do nothing but live a life with anxiety, as evidenced in the following quotation from the same Report.

... the existing depression in Hong Kong has its *sole cause in external factors*.

We are suffering from the world wave of depression and as far as that is concerned *Hong Kong can only wait patiently for the turn of the tide*. A partial cause of our depression is that China has also suffered a decline in trade with a consequent decrease in revenue and the partial result that her Government has endeavoured to maintain revenue by increasing taxation on imports (emphasis added)⁵⁰³.

The fact that the economy of Hong Kong could so easily be affected by external factors, especially those from China, made Hong Kong people realize the vulnerability of their economy and society.

From the perspective of the Japanese, their stronger presence might not always have been beneficial. Their daily life could be affected by the situation of Sino-Japanese relations. When there was conflict between the two countries, the social and economic position of the Japanese residents in Hong Kong was likely to suffer. For example, when Japan's Kwantung Army entered Manchuria and Japanese occupation started there in 1931, there was a boycott on Japanese products in Hong Kong⁵⁰⁴. According to an annual report of overseas Japanese schools to the Foreign Ministry, this boycott not only damaged

⁵⁰¹ Report of the Economic Commission, 1935

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p.77

⁵⁰⁴ JACAR: Ref. B04011698100

the financial situation of large Japanese companies and banks but also forced many Japanese to leave Hong Kong⁵⁰⁵. It was also reported that, as a result of this, the Japanese Residents' Association of Hong Kong, the operating authority of Hong Kong Japanese Primary School, experienced such serious financial difficulties that they had to ask for special financial assistance from the Japanese government⁵⁰⁶.

The anti-Japanese movement in mainland China spread to Hong Kong too. Besides the boycott on Japanese products some violent acts occurred. According to Acting Consul-General Yoshida's correspondence with the Japanese foreign minister Viscount Saito, Japanese school children had suffered from violent acts of Chinese residents in Hong Kong⁵⁰⁷. Japanese nationals were advised to evacuate to the Hong Kong Japanese Primary School, and about 800 Japanese followed this and stayed there for two weeks. As a result, the Japanese Residents' Association of Hong Kong suffered financially because they had to bear the financial burden of repair and renovation work of the school necessitated by the short-term evacuation camp.

The tension between China and Japan became more serious. Following the occurrence of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (also known as the Battle of Lugou Bridge), the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in July 1937. As the battle intensified, many people flooded into Hong Kong from China. They included not only Chinese but also British. However, while the Chinese crossed the border only to find poor and overcrowded living conditions, the British received better treatment from the Hong Kong government and local companies. For example, accommodation for 500 persons had been made available for British women and children evacuated from Shanghai in August 1937 and further work was done in order to make accommodation for over 1,000 persons ready

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ JACAR: Ref. B04011643100

within a short period⁵⁰⁸. British refugees were offered vouchers for free transportation by Hong Kong Tramways and half-rate transportation by bus and ferry companies⁵⁰⁹. In the Hong Kong Jockey Club Stand at Happy Valley, one of the centres arranged for British refugees, rent or electricity bill was waived.

The War between Japan and China also had a seriously negative impact on Hong Kong-Japanese relations. At the beginning, as the Hong Kong administration tried to maintain its close relationship with Japan, the outbreak of the conflict in northern China did not damage the economic or cultural ties immediately. However, as the Japanese moved forward and started to march into the south, the situation became unfavourable for the bilateral relations between Hong Kong and Japan. For example, it was reported in September 1937 that the Japanese residents in Hong Kong were again arranged by the Hong Kong government to stay in the Hong Kong Japanese Primary School, Chitose Hotel or the residence of Mitsui under the protection of the British police⁵¹⁰. Although there was no imminent danger of attack, 120 out of 400 Japanese in Hong Kong at that time decided to leave and return to Japan⁵¹¹. There was again a boycott on Japanese goods although they were still being sold, disguised as Chinese products⁵¹².

The Japanese residents' population in Hong Kong declined substantially as a result of the War in China. According to data compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1937, when the Sino-Japanese conflict started in Manchuria, 1,415 Japanese resided in Hong Kong⁵¹³. However, their number dropped to 671 by 1 January 1940⁵¹⁴. It continued to decrease to 589 in one year, as of 1 January 1941⁵¹⁵ and only 387 by April in the same

⁵⁰⁸ Report of the Shanghai Refugees Committee, 1938

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ JACAR: Ref. A0302392870

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ JACAR: Ref. B02130123800

⁵¹⁴ JACAR: Ref. B02130125200

⁵¹⁵ JACAR: Ref. B02130124800

year⁵¹⁶. In view of the relative difficulties of travelling at that time, a drop of 200 in only four months was rather abnormal, indicating the seriousness of the situation at that time. The Japanese community in Hong Kong, which had once shown gradual growth, was shrinking in size and therefore social recognition.

Thus, during the Sino-Japanese conflict, there were no signs of emergence of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. Apparently, Hong Kong people's perception of Japan had been damaged by the war. Although Japan became more visible in the eyes of Hong Kong people in the twentieth century with the increase in Hong Kong-Japanese trade, there was not much improvement in terms of social stability. With the break of and continuation of the Sino-Japanese conflict, Hong Kong people's daily lives, as discussed below, were affected. This and the unstable situation in China could easily aggravate their insecure feeling. This impeded the emergence of a demand for Japanese studies to rise. In addition, some Hong Kong people might at that time have a negative perception of Japan. As the Sino-Japanese conflict was prolonged, the life of Hong Kong people became severely affected. In early December 1941, just before the Japanese army entered the British territory of Hong Kong, a confidential report on the economic conditions of Hong Kong was compiled by the army stationed in southern China and sent to the Vice-Minister of Army, Kimura Heitaro in Tokyo. According to the report, Hong Kong's lower class residents, who occupied 90 per cent of the total population, were living in poverty due to the inflation and devaluation of currency caused by the Second Sino-Japanese War and the war in Europe⁵¹⁷. Despite the implementation of new policies by the Hong Kong administration, the dissatisfaction of this group remained and frequent strikes were observed. The price of rice had doubled since 1937, while the price of firewood rose five times⁵¹⁸. According to the aforesaid report, about 500,000 refugees had flooded into Hong

⁵¹⁶ JACAR: Ref. B02130125400

⁵¹⁷ JACAR: Ref. C04123629900

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

Kong since the beginning of the war. The situation in Hong Kong was worsened by this and the difficulties in importing goods from Guangdong province which was blocked by the Japanese. The Hong Kong government issued the Defence (Finance) Regulation in 1939 and banned non-authorized transactions of any foreign currency or gold⁵¹⁹ in order to stabilize the currency, although the effect was limited.

On 25 December 1941, the Japanese military force finally entered Hong Kong and started to occupy the region and establish a military administration. As soon as the Japanese military took control of Hong Kong, it issued a message to Chinese residents as follows:

The million and more who comprise the Chinese population of Hong Kong, and who have been under British Imperialism for over 100 years, have now been released. The Japanese Army, by its courageous advance, has, in the shortest interval of time lifted the hundred years' oppression which the Chinese people have suffered.... The Chinese must understand that the Far East fighting has but this aim – the overthrow of British and American Imperialism, to release the races of East Asia and establish a Far East Co-prosperity sphere⁵²⁰.

This was obviously meant to justify the Japanese Army's occupation of Hong Kong. It sounded as if the life of local Chinese would improve to a degree that had never been achieved under British rule, although the Chinese would soon learn that this was not the case. Two days later, another statement was issued by the Japanese military administration.

⁵¹⁹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, 8 September 1939

⁵²⁰ The Hong Kong News, 31 December 1941

Since the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, order and government have gradually been restored. The Japanese Army is taking special care to protect the Chinese population, for which the latter are very grateful⁵²¹.

Whether or not these statements really influenced the Chinese, it is believed that the Chinese residents in Hong Kong accepted governance by the Japanese relatively smoothly⁵²². The reasons behind it are considered to be the hatred toward the British as the colonial master, the Japanese propaganda regarding anti-British and anti-American Imperialism, the Japanese ideology of 'Asia for the Asians' and the establishment of a new Asian order with the Sino-Japanese cooperation, and so on⁵²³. As the life of local Chinese under British rule had not shown any signs of improvement, the only thing that people could do was hope for a change under the new administration.

Unlike other places that had become under Japanese ruling or occupation such as Taiwan and Korea, no strict Japanese language policy was adopted by the Japanese military authority in Hong Kong. A milder approach was adopted. People were not forced to use Japanese in their daily lives, although they were strongly encouraged to learn it. This policy was tactical behalf of the Japanese military government. The basic cultural policy they adopted in Hong Kong was to remove the Western-centred materialistic ideology from the residents⁵²⁴. However, the military administration realized that this was not easily achievable as the Western ideology had deeply penetrated people's minds during the British colonial ruling of nearly 100 years. It was also considered that any policy implemented by force would not be effective and would result in strong resistance from the residents. Therefore, in designing the language policy for Hong Kong, they paid special attention to avoid the growth among local people of any feeling of hatred towards the

⁵²¹ The Hong Kong News, 2 January 1942

⁵²² Welsh (1993) p.421

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁵²⁴ Honkon Senryoochi Sootokubu Hoodoobu (1944) p.275

Japanese. It was stated by the military administration that the diffusion of Japanese was considered important but the method of implementing this had to be flexible, not forced, taking into consideration the feeling of Hong Kong residents⁵²⁵.

With the transition of authority from the British to the Japanese, Hong Kong people had to face further insecurity. Ironically, however, it was also in this period that Japanese studies emerged for the first time on a large scale. This emergence was, as discussed in Chapter 5, initiated by the Japanese military government. Under the Japanese administration, a Japanese language corner was set up in the newspaper and Japanese language courses were implemented at local schools (see Chapter 5). To some extent, the emergence was inevitable given the political situation of Hong Kong at that time. Nonetheless, the fact that the opening of the East Asia School by the Japanese occupational government attracted a number of Chinese residents, for example, indicates that there was a certain driving force affecting their mind and decision-making. People reacted in this manner in order to survive. Through experiencing various difficult times, Hong Kong people had learned to face situations flexibly.

In such a situation, it did not take long before the Hong Kong Chinese realized that they had to accept what was happening and try to find a way to live in a different environment. For them, the Japanese occupation was something that might provide an opportunity to start a better life. Their flexible mindset facilitated their adaption to the new environment. People wished to take any chance that would help them improve their daily lives and studying Japanese was considered as one of the ways to do it. Their belief was supported by the fact that ability in Japanese became an advantage for finding a job or obtaining some privileges in daily supplies. These pragmatic motivations were clearly significant in a period still characterised by insecurity.

During the Japanese occupation, all teachers previously employed at Chinese

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

schools were required to take a Japanese language course and pass an examination to be entitled to teach in their former schools. For this purpose, as discussed in Chapter 5, the Teachers' Training Institute was established in February 1942. A total of 753 application for entry as the first cohort had been submitted within a short period between the relevant announcement (27 January 1942) and the application closing date (30 January 1942)⁵²⁶. The second cohort attracted over 1,000 applicants⁵²⁷. What motivated the applicants was the hope of mitigating their circumstances even a little. As it was their only way of being re-employed in their original occupation, the former teachers had no choices, no matter how dissatisfied they were with the military government. In addition, teachers received relatively favourable treatment during this period. With the prolongation of the War, prices surged. Life in Hong Kong became increasingly difficult. Consequently the Education Department approved a request submitted by the Hong Kong Headmasters' Association to increase the salaries of teachers: revising the salary scale from 60-80 yen to 80-100 yen for primary school teachers and from 80-100 yen to 100-150 yen for middle school teachers⁵²⁸. There was also non-monetary support offered to teachers. Towards the end of the War, while Hong Kong suffered from a severe shortage of food, teachers were given a priority in obtaining rice at a cheaper rate⁵²⁹.

Besides teachers, those with ability in the Japanese language also enjoyed certain advantageous. Apart from jobs being allocated to graduates of the East Asia School, there were also calls for application for Japanese-speaking posts. On the opening of the Hong Kong Public Library, a number of posts were made available⁵³⁰. For the posts of advisor and office assistants, a general knowledge of Japanese in speech and writing was required apart from the academic qualifications of College and advanced middle school respectively.

⁵²⁶ The Hong Kong News, 27 January 1942 and 2 February 1942

⁵²⁷ The Hong Kong News, 18 April 1942

⁵²⁸ The Hong Kong News, 24 November 1943

⁵²⁹ The Hong Kong News, 25 May 1945

⁵³⁰ The Hong Kong News, 31 May 1944

Even for office boys and messengers, applicants were required to be able to converse in simple Japanese⁵³¹.

Despite local people's wish to live a better life in the new era, the fact was that the situation never improved. How the Chinese residents in Hong Kong during the occupation by the Japanese were treated was reported in an English radio news programme broadcast in Chongqing on 1 March 1942. The news report described the life of Chinese under the Japanese military administration: The Japanese seized every valuable item they found from the Chinese; people were allowed to withdraw up to 50 dollars from their bank accounts but had to exchange them into war notes; people were so poor that some of them were only able to eat their first tiny meal of the day only at midnight⁵³². In such a situation, it is natural that relations between the local Hong Kong people and the Japanese worsened.

However, there was an increase in the number of people who studied Japanese. This was facilitated by several factors that were peculiar to Hong Kong society at that time. First, the local Chinese had a strong insecure feeling with the fall of Hong Kong. In order to reduce their insecurity, it was thought to be better to accept the new administration and try their best to adapt themselves to the new environment. Learning Japanese was one of the most helpful ways at that time. Secondly, in addition to the deteriorating daily life in the War period, the fact that the British, who had served as the colonial master for a century, surrendered in a surprisingly short time took away Hong Kong people's confidence in the West. Having lost trust in the British government to protect them, the Chinese in Hong Kong were at a loss to know what to do. Their lack of trust in the British turned into a hope for the new administration.

With this background, Japanese studies in Hong Kong showed rapid development for the first time on such a large scale. However, it was made possible only because Hong Kong was facing serious difficulties in wartime. Without pragmatic reasons, Japanese

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² JACAR: Ref. A03024810800

studies would not have developed so much. Japan, in the eyes of people in Hong Kong, was the enemy. It had invaded the territory of Hong Kong. This is the case even though Japan pronounced that it would end British Imperialistic strength and establish a Far East Co-prosperity sphere. It is doubtful whether local people believed that, especially because Japan had already invaded China, the motherland of many Hong Kong Chinese. However, the Chinese in Hong Kong had to adapt simply because they had no other options in order to survive.

The above has shown that the motivation behind the Hong Kong people's pursuit of Japanese learning during the Japanese occupation was merely for the sake of survival when there was no other option. Therefore, it was understandable that people's motivation for studying Japanese rapidly disappeared with the end of the Japanese occupation since there was no longer any pragmatic advantage in it. Devastated by the protracted war, Japan had to struggle to reconstruct the country. As Japan's trade was restricted under the Potsdam Declaration, its economic value also decreased. The sudden disappearance of Japanese studies shows that the emergence of demand during the Japanese occupation was only temporary and due only to the unusual situation at that time. People did not have a genuine interest in Japan.

The end of the Japanese occupation, which had lasted three years and eight months, did not result in a quick improvement in people's living standard. Minutes of the Legislative Council show that many people were suffering from high living costs caused by the shortage of goods after the war. For instance, at a meeting in June 1946, it was reported that the allocation of rice to Hong Kong dropped by 70 per cent for the second quarter of the year, and that a large amount of rice, shipped as part of Hong Kong's allocation, consisted of 100 per cent broken rice that was "unfit for human consumption"⁵³³.

⁵³³ Minutes of the Legislative Council, 20 June 1946

The same Legislative Council minutes also revealed that the rice allocation had been reduced several times and had gone down to one fourth within six months⁵³⁴. In response to this situation, the colonial government decided to pay a living allowance to all non-European adults of 18 years or over based on their monthly salaries in accordance with a certain scale despite the high financial burden this would entail⁵³⁵. This illustrates that Hong Kong people were still suffering and could barely survive economically. As people were generally living such a hard life after World War II, Japanese studies in Hong Kong, which once drew people's attention under the Japanese occupation, lost prominence. For some people, it was something that they could not afford, and for others, it was something that they wanted to avoid as it was associated with bad wartime memories.

When Hong Kong became a British territory, Japan was under its seclusion policy and even after the end of this policy in 1853, there was only a weak tie between the two regions. In addition, there were very few Japanese living in Hong Kong. As discussed above, at the time of the establishment of the Japanese Consulate two decades after the opening of Japan, there were only 13 Japanese, and even after another two decades, Japanese formed only 0.1 per cent of the total Hong Kong population. This low level of presence obviously affected the emergence of interest in Japanese studies. Japan's position in Hong Kong people's eyes was still insignificant. For nearly 100 years of early Hong Kong history as a British colony, people were rarely engaged in Japanese studies.

This was also attributable to the mentality of Hong Kong people. The society of Hong Kong in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century was still unstable. Chinese residents and western people were not equally treated. Political instability on the mainland and deadly diseases affected their mentality as well. In consequence, people were living with a strong sense of insecurity. With such insecurity, there was no room for Japanese

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

studies to develop, especially when the Hong Kong- Japanese relationship was still weak. Although the number of Japanese residents and the volume in trade between the two places showed a gradual increase, Hong Kong did not benefit much from it. As discussed above, Hong Kong was a more important trading partner to Japan than vice versa. In addition, when the volume of trade between the two regions rose, incidents like the Sino-Japanese War or the Russo-Japanese War broke out and brought serious damage. Without any pragmatic motivation, people did not bother to make an effort to know more about Japan.

With the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War which was later escalated to become World War II, the life of Hong Kong Chinese deteriorated further. Consequently, they became more insecure. Dissatisfaction towards the colonial government grew. It was in such circumstances that the Japanese occupation commenced. In fact, the insecurity of Hong Kong did not disappear. However, as they knew that the previous 100 years of British sovereignty had not brought about comfortable living, there was the slight hope that they could take the opportunity to start a better life. This partly explains the relative popularity in enrolment in the East Asia School, where Japanese was a compulsory course. It was not because they wanted to study Japanese, but because they saw a potential advantage in learning Japanese under the Japanese military administration. Those who had the opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of Japanese were given priority when finding a job, or even buying rice at a cheaper rate. Thus, Hong Kong people's pragmatic mentality contributed to the first development of Japanese studies during this period.

Nevertheless, the "boom" was to some extent created by the Japanese occupational government. Without a genuine interest in Japan among Hong Kong people, Japanese studies did not show further development with the end of the Japanese occupation.

To summarize, the low level of demand for Japanese studies during the Period of Low Demand was mainly due to the lack of Japanese existence in Hong Kong society and

the unstable living condition among the Chinese population. People's insecure feeling kept them from having a particular interest in something that was not directly related to their lives. Their pragmatic motivation did not operate either, because trade with Japan was still growing at a moderate pace and did not draw much attention from them. However, even in this insecure situation, people's flexibility led them in a certain direction as long as they saw a pragmatic value there. This is the reason for the first movement of Japanese studies in Hong Kong during the Japanese occupation. As pragmatic value was lost after Japan withdrew from the territory after the War, Japanese studies naturally ceased to develop.

It is thus concluded that the mentality of Hong Kong people closely affected the popularity or lack of popularity of Japanese studies from the establishment of the Hong Kong colony to the end of the Japanese occupation. In the following part, it will be discussed how a real demand for Japanese studies emerged in Hong Kong and what background factors influenced the development.

PART III: PERIOD OF GROWTH OF DEMAND

Part III looks in detail at the emergence of Japanese studies in Hong Kong and its development from the 1960s to the 1980s. Chapter 7 will describe how Japanese studies came to be perceived and spread in Hong Kong.

In Chapter 8, why the demand for Japanese studies grew during this period, and how the mentality of Hong Kong people and their perception of Japan were linked to the growth, will be analysed.

Chapter 7 Emergence and Growth of Demand in the General Public

As described in Chapters 5 and 6, during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong from December 1942 to August 1945, Japanese studies emerged in Hong Kong for the first time on a relatively large scale. However, as it was mostly orchestrated by the Japanese military government, the demand did not originate from any interest of the general public in Japan. Therefore, with the resumption of British rule after Japan's surrender, the demand rapidly disappeared. The early post-war era in Hong Kong did not show any indication of development in Japanese studies. As described below, since the oldest Japanese language schools only started operating in the early 1960s, it can be concluded that there was no formal teaching of Japanese in the latter half of the 1940s and in the 1950s. This would appear to be because both Hong Kong and Japan were in a period of recovery from the damage caused by the War. Hong Kong people did not have the energy and time to be involved in pursuits which were not necessary for their survival. In any case, Japan was the defeated enemy. It could also have been a taboo to be associated with anything Japanese, including Japanese studies.

Since the 1960s, with the gradual improvement in living standards and general

economic development, educational opportunities for Hong Kong people increased. As Figure 7.1 shows, at the beginning of the 1960s, nearly 30 per cent of the population did not receive any education while 45 per cent had primary but not secondary education. In other words, only 25 per cent of the population received secondary education or above. There was only a slight improvement in the 1960s. However, educational opportunities improved significantly in the next decades (from 1971 to 1981). By 1981, about half of the population had achieved secondary level education or above. This is a 100 per cent increase from the situation in 1961.

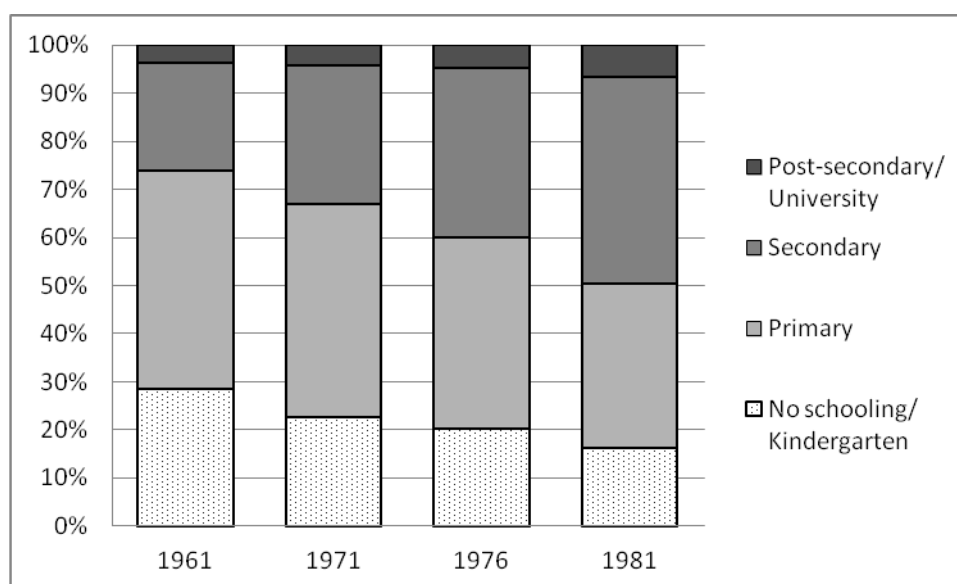


Figure 7.1: Percentage distribution of population aged 15 and over by educational attainment in 1961, 1971, 1976 and 1981.
(Data from Census and Statistics Department (1982))

The rapid improvement in educational attainment during this period was largely down to the introduction of compulsory primary education in 1971⁵³⁶. However, as the increase in the number of people who attended school beyond primary level was not a direct effect of compulsory education, it appears that people could gradually afford to receive a higher level of education. This also meant that the living conditions of Hong

⁵³⁶ Census and Statistics Department (1982) p.40

Kong people were improving. It was in this period that a demand for Japanese studies started to be realized. Interestingly, the growth of demand for Japanese studies corresponds with that of educational attainment in Hong Kong. The demand had become more prominent since the 1970s as will be described below.

There were no official records of how many learners of Japanese were taking a course in Hong Kong until the mid-1970s. Although the demand for Japanese studies had already emerged in the early 1960s with the establishment of Japanese language schools, its scale was relatively small before the 1970s. The first large-scale survey conducted by the Japan Foundation revealed that there were over 5,000 learners of Japanese in the mid-1970s (Table 7.1). It accounted for seven per cent of the total number of Japanese learners in the world⁵³⁷. It is very likely that this first survey had difficulties collecting precise data⁵³⁸, but it at least implies that there was a certain demand for Japanese studies in Hong Kong by that time. Similar surveys were conducted regularly and given a rough picture of the Japanese learning situation in Hong Kong. However, these figures only include those people involved in formal Japanese learning at schools or institutions. They do not reflect the true figures as there were many who were learning Japanese through private tutoring⁵³⁹.

	1974	1980	1985	1990	1993
Institutions in Hong Kong	12	10	47	32	35
Learners in Hong Kong	5,410	4,066	7,784	11,865	16,074
Learners in the world	77,827	127,167	584,934	817,490	1,623,455

Table 7.1: Number of Japanese language educational institutions and learners in Hong Kong and worldwide. (Data from the Japan Foundation (1975), (1981), (1987), (1992) and (1995))

⁵³⁷ The Japan Foundation (1975)

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Chan (1988) p.460

It is therefore estimated that there were more Japanese learners of Japanese than these figures show. Nonetheless, Hong Kong, a tiny British colony then, had already established its status as one of the major regions that offered the Japanese language education by the mid-1970s. As is indicated in Table 7.1, although the number of learners in Hong Kong decreased in the 1980 survey, it showed a rapid increase in the subsequent surveys. Regarding the decrease in the 1980 survey, it might be due to a lack of replies from local institutions. As will be discussed later, there were no particular signs indicating a decrease in demand during that period. It is more natural to assume that there was a steady increase in number which had not been properly reflected in the survey. In fact, within 16 years of the first survey, the number doubled. As there was only a low level of demand for Japanese studies at the beginning of the 1960s, the period from the early 1960s to the late-1980s saw the emergence and fast development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. This period is thus defined as the Period of Growth of Demand. How the demand emerged and grew will be examined below.

One of the oldest Japanese language schools in Hong Kong, Daiichi Japanese Language School, was established in 1962⁵⁴⁰. When the school first opened, it had only seven students, two Japanese teachers and six Japanese assistants⁵⁴¹. Since the number of students was smaller than that of teaching staff, it is easy to imagine how small the demand for Japanese studies was at that time. It can therefore be considered that this was really the earliest stage of emergence of Japanese studies. It is also recorded that there were no other schools specialized on Japanese language teaching at that time, except for private tutoring classes⁵⁴².

However, it did not take long before the school began to admit more students. In

⁵⁴⁰ Tang (1988) p.170

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

1965, Daiichi Japanese Language School, which originally offered classes only in Kowloon, opened its second venue on Hong Kong Island by renting classrooms from a secondary school⁵⁴³. Although the new venue had to be closed due to the closure of the secondary school in 1968, some students crossed the harbour to continue their learning even after that, and the number of students kept growing. It had 700 students in 1973, which means a tenfold increase in ten years⁵⁴⁴. Although due to the 1973 oil crisis the number dropped suddenly in 1974, it had revived by 1978 with a total of 900 students⁵⁴⁵. At its peak, Daiichi Japanese Language School had about 1,700 students in 1985⁵⁴⁶.

As the number of Japanese language learners gradually increased, the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong also started a Japanese language course under the Japan Information & Cultural Centre in 1968, accepting students at beginner and intermediate levels⁵⁴⁷. The fact that some were admitted in the intermediate level class is an indication that the Japanese language learning at that time was already at a growth stage. At the beginning, there were two beginner level classes and one intermediate level class taught by two Chinese teachers⁵⁴⁸. The course soon gained popularity, probably partly because it was affiliated with the Consulate-General of Japan (It was later taken over by a non-profit organization, the Japan Society of Hong Kong in 2000). In addition to its 'official' image, the fact that trained teachers were sent by the Japanese Foreign Ministry (later by the Japan Foundation) from 1970 to teach the course contributed to the high reputation of the course⁵⁴⁹. In a sense, compared with private language schools, the quality of teaching was guaranteed. In 1970, an advanced level class was added and altogether 219 students were studying on these courses⁵⁵⁰. In the following year, there were 554

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Society of Japanese Language Education, Hong Kong (1993) p.6

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ Chen & Yang (2004) p.305

⁵⁴⁸ Japan Information & Cultural Centre (1993) p.7

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

applications for the vacancies of 200 (Figure 7.2). Subsequently, the course became so popular that students had to be selected by lot (until 1983) or through an entrance examination (after 1984)⁵⁵¹.

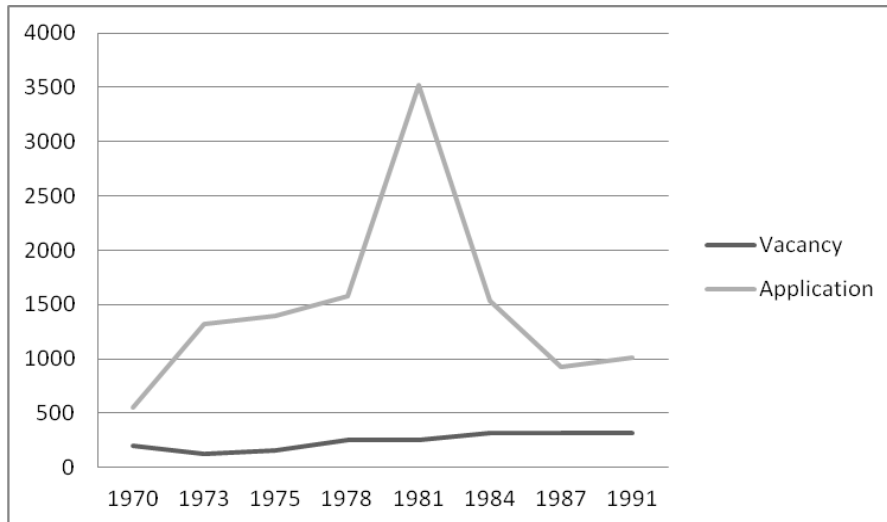


Figure 7.2: Total vacancy for the Japanese Language Course affiliated with the Consulate-General of Japan and total application for the following year. (Data from Japan Information & Cultural Centre (1993) pp.7--10)



Figure 7.3: Number of students at the Japanese Language Course affiliated with the Consulate-General of Japan. (Data from Japan Information & Cultural Centre (1993) pp.7--10)

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., p.9

The number of applications (Figure 7.2) showed a sudden increase and decrease in the early 1980s. However, in view of the fact that around 1,000-1,500 applications were received from 1984 to 1991, it can be said the programme was popular. The total number of students enrolled in the courses also increased. As mentioned above, the courses enrolled 219 students in 1970. The figures from 1971 to 1978 are not available. However, by 1979, the number of students increased to 529 (Figure 7.3). It continued to increase until 1984, when the highest number was recorded (962 students). Therefore, there was a slight decrease towards the late-1980s.

One of the characteristics of the Japanese language programme at the Japan Information & Cultural Centre of the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong was its structure. It adopted a three-year (from 1968 to 1970 a two-year) certificate programme system⁵⁵², in which the students would study from the beginner level, and then intermediate level and advanced level in three years. Each year, a graduation ceremony was held for those who have completed the three-year programme. Obviously not all of the students could obtain the Certificate of Completion, but the well-organized structure might have contributed to the programme's popularity too.

The community services sector also started Japanese language education. The Adult and Higher Education Services of Caritas Hong Kong is one example of the institutions that actively offered a Japanese course during this period. Founded in the mid-1960s, Caritas Adult and Higher Education Services aimed to provide educational opportunities for those who were unable to continue their formal education in the territory's established school structures⁵⁵³. Therefore, the courses at the very early stage focused on basic education. They started with 1,000 enrolments in 1966 and had less than 5,000 learners in 1970, but soon the enrolment number increased and the total enrolment in

⁵⁵² Ibid. p.7

⁵⁵³ Caritas Hong Kong (1993) p.114

the mid-1970s exceeded 20,000⁵⁵⁴. Japanese began to be taught as early as 1968 when Japanese was taught under special education training with other languages such as French, Cantonese, Mandarin, English and German⁵⁵⁵. These language courses were designed ‘to enable youngsters and adults to learn a new language which would either be useful to them in finding better employment or enrich their lives in other ways’⁵⁵⁶. In the following year, Caritas Adult Education Centre also opened a Japanese course, which was in part-time mode together with other language courses⁵⁵⁷. For all language courses, including various English courses, Mandarin, Cantonese, French, German and Japanese, there were 649 enrolments⁵⁵⁸. Although exact figures of those on the Japanese courses were not available, English and Chinese courses should have been among the most popular as they were the official languages of Hong Kong. It is therefore very likely that proportionally not so many people were studying Japanese at that early stage.

However, these courses were expanded in the 1970s. For example, a newspaper advertisement in 1977 showed that altogether six Japanese courses were offered at five of Caritas’ centres⁵⁵⁹. The courses offered at these centres ranged from interest classes (such as photography, drawing, calligraphy, dessert making and Chinese cooking) to more practical classes (such as Chinese typing, English typing, stenography, hotel services, automobile repair, etc)⁵⁶⁰. Among language courses, English and Chinese were obviously most commonly offered and could be taken at any of their centres. Apart from these two, only Japanese and French were offered. German, which used to be taught, was not on the list then. While they opened only two French courses, six Japanese courses were organized⁵⁶¹. This implies that the demand for Japanese courses was quite high.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.114-115

⁵⁵⁵ Caritas Hong Kong Annual Report 1968-1969, p.20

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Caritas Hong Kong Annual Report 1969-1970, p.35

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., p.36

⁵⁵⁹ Ming Pao, 16 September 1977

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

Another known example is the Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong, which was established at the beginning of the 20th century. The Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong had a long history of serving the local community. In 1961, it established a centre in the Central district (the central business district in Hong Kong) at which a wide variety of activities for young people were arranged⁵⁶². There, a Japanese interest class was held⁵⁶³. This means that the Japanese course was offered in the early 1960s, when some private language schools were gradually opening. After a while, in 1966, the Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong erected its 18-story building in Waterloo Road, Kowloon as its headquarters⁵⁶⁴. At the programme centre of the headquarters, Japanese classes were organized as one of the training courses for adult learning⁵⁶⁵. In the late-1970s, it was estimated that about 400 to 500 people were studying Japanese at the Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong⁵⁶⁶.

These Japanese courses in the community services sector, together with private language schools, prove that demand for Japanese studies had emerged in the 1960s at the general public level. Though the demand was still limited, Japanese studies began to develop out of people's interest, not as an orchestrated "project" like the situation during the Japanese occupation in the World War II. It led to a boom from the mid-1970s. The Japanese education at this early stage contributed tremendously to the later growth of Japanese studies in Hong Kong.

Japanese was taught in secondary education as well although the scale was rather small. Pui Kiu Middle School started a Japanese class from 1965 for Form 6 students with 25-30 students⁵⁶⁷. The class was expanded in the 1970s in response to students' requests to provide higher level courses⁵⁶⁸. Even though it was one of very few examples, it is a

⁵⁶² Xianggang Zhonghua Jidu Jiao Qing Nian Hui (2001) p.82

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., p.83

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ Chan (1988) p.460

⁵⁶⁷ Society of Japanese Language Education, Hong Kong (1993) p.4

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

surprising fact that the Japanese course was offered as part of secondary education at such an early stage. As a British colony, English education was considered the core part in the Hong Kong educational system. With that background, there was little room for Japanese. In addition, the Japanese language education had long been occupied by adult learners, as will be mentioned later. In this sense too, the example of Pui Kiu Middle School is noteworthy.

Apart from this, Japanese studies also began in post-secondary education. One of the earliest examples was a Japanese course offered at the Department of Extra-mural Studies of the University of Hong Kong. It began in September 1965⁵⁶⁹. As it was an extra-mural course mostly for adult learners, it was similar in nature in this respect to the Japanese courses offered at private institutions, the Consulate-General of Japan, and community service centres as described above. It was not part of the formal education of the University.

Formal Japanese education at the tertiary level began at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. It was the first tertiary institution to offer a Japanese course to university students in Hong Kong. A Japanese language course began in the Department of Chinese and Oriental Languages in 1967 and the Japanese Studies Section obtained independent status in 1972⁵⁷⁰. Being upgraded to an independent section in such a short period is evidence that there was general anticipation of further development of Japanese studies. As the first of its kind at the tertiary level, the Japanese language course of the Chinese University of Hong Kong was privileged to be allocated visiting lecturers sent by the Japanese Foreign Ministry⁵⁷¹, just like the Japanese language course affiliated with the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong. Three of them were teaching Japanese there in 1968, the same year as the Japanese language course was made available as a minor

⁵⁶⁹ Chan (1988) p.460, Saito (1995b) p.20

⁵⁷⁰ Hara (1988) p.444

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

programme together with French and German courses⁵⁷².

The Chinese University of Hong Kong, like the University of Hong Kong, also offered Japanese courses at its Department of Extra-mural Studies. It began in 1973⁵⁷³, which was much later the course at the Department of Extra-mural Studies of the University of Hong Kong and also later than the above-mentioned course offered to its own university students. The course however experienced rapid expansion and, in only five years, all five venues in Kowloon and the New Territories offered beginner level courses⁵⁷⁴. A distinct feature of the course at the Department of Extra-mural Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong was the production of radio and television programmes on the beginner Japanese course since 1976⁵⁷⁵. They were broadcast by Commercial Television, which first went on air in 1977. As a part of licensing conditions, the station was required to air two hours of special instructional programmes each weekday evening, covering topics such as automobile mechanics, book-keeping, interior design and foreign languages⁵⁷⁶. Its Japanese language programme might have begun simply to meet the licensing requirements. However, it turned out to be very popular. It was estimated that it had 80,000 listeners and viewers, ten times those of the Putonghua (Chinese Mandarin) programme⁵⁷⁷. Some 4,000 viewers of the Japanese language programme registered for the course in order to obtain the textbook and have their homework corrected⁵⁷⁸. It was so successful that a six-month intermediate level programme of Japanese was launched in April 1978, but unfortunately Commercial Television was declared bankrupt and the course had to be cancelled only three months after its commencement⁵⁷⁹. Even though the radio and television programmes did not continue, such success serves as clear evidence of

⁵⁷² Chen & Yang (2004) p.305

⁵⁷³ Chan (1988) p.460

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Hong Kong Government (1977) pp.166-167

⁵⁷⁷ Chan (1988) p.460

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

the growth of Japanese studies in the mid-1970s.

Other evidence of growth of Japanese studies in the mid-1970s is the commencement of such courses at another tertiary educational institution, at that time without university status, the Hong Kong Polytechnic. This institution was established in 1972 by taking over the premises, staff and students of the former Hong Kong Technical College⁵⁸⁰. Early on it mainly offered two-year full-time courses leading to technician or ordinary diplomas and three-year full-time courses leading to Higher Diploma qualifications, until it started degree-level Professional Diploma and Bachelor's degree programmes⁵⁸¹. The Department of Languages was set up in 1973, which at first provided English language training for all first-year students throughout the Polytechnic as well as Chinese language training for commercial students⁵⁸². However, in the year it was established, the Department had already started planning to introduce a Japanese course for students on the Executive Secretaries course in the Department of Business Studies⁵⁸³. The course was implemented as an optional pilot course in the second semester of the 1974 academic year, and 'turned out to be very popular'⁵⁸⁴.

The foundation was thus laid by the time the Department started a one-year full-time Certificate course in Japanese in 1977, which had a student intake of 21 persons and two teaching staff⁵⁸⁵. It was the first Japanese major programme in tertiary education in Hong Kong. As the programmes at the Hong Kong Polytechnic were originally designed to provide practical knowledge and skills, the Certificate course naturally aimed at offering practical Japanese language training⁵⁸⁶. The practical nature of the programme was well-accepted. It is an interesting fact that the students on the Certificate in Japanese

⁵⁸⁰ Clark (1988) p.468

⁵⁸¹ Hong Kong Government (1977) p.68

⁵⁸² Hong Kong Polytechnic Annual Report 1973/74, p.17

⁵⁸³ Hong Kong Polytechnic Annual Report 1973/74, p.18

⁵⁸⁴ Hong Kong Polytechnic Annual Report 1974/75, p.15

⁵⁸⁵ Hong Kong Polytechnic Annual Report 1977/78, p.51

⁵⁸⁶ Hara (2000) p.27

course negotiated with the Polytechnic, and in response to their request, the course was upgraded to a two-year Diploma programme the following year⁵⁸⁷. The practical nature of the course is apparent from the description of the course at that time:

The Diploma in Japanese aims to provide intermediate-level competence in both oral and reading/writing skills, together with an introduction to aspects of Japanese society. In addition to school leavers, the course has also taken in a number of mature students, and (particularly in the early years) these have included serving officers from the Royal Hong Kong Police Force, both men and women and ranking from Constable to Chief Inspector⁵⁸⁸.

The first cohort of students graduated in 1979. It should be noted that the programme included a visit to Japan for the students (see the quotation from the institution's Annual Report below). Although it is unlikely to have been a compulsory component, it can be regarded as an epoch-making event which would have an influence on the design of other Japanese programmes in future.

The students of Japanese completed their studies with a visit to Japan during which each lived with a Japanese family. The visit, lasting 18 days, was arranged by the Experiment in International Living, and was made possible mainly by the generosity of the Japan Foundation⁵⁸⁹.

The success and popularity of the Diploma in Japanese is shown by the volume of applications. Within ten years of operation, the programme attracted 2,850 qualified

⁵⁸⁷ Society of Japanese Language Education, Hong Kong (2008a) pp.22-23, Hong Kong Polytechnic Annual Report 1977/78, p.51

⁵⁸⁸ Clark (1988) p.468

⁵⁸⁹ Hong Kong Polytechnic Annual Report 1978/79, p.47

applicants for the intake of 21 in 1987, which means a ratio of over 135 to every place available⁵⁹⁰. It was so popular that the Hong Kong Polytechnic raised the intake quota to 42 (double the original quota) in that year⁵⁹¹.

The Diploma in Japanese at the Hong Kong Polytechnic was particularly aimed at providing intermediate level competence in Japanese and an introduction to aspects of Japanese society⁵⁹². As a result of these, the programme contributed greatly to the development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. There was a clear difference in the nature of the course at the Hong Kong Polytechnic from that at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, where it was offered as a minor programme. Although it was a Diploma and not a degree yet, the level aimed at was intermediate. In addition, it also included an introduction to aspects of Japanese society. This must have been intended to contribute to a better and deeper understanding of Japan. In any case, its popularity shows that people had motivation to choose a Japanese-specific programme.

The Hong Kong Polytechnic had another popular Japanese-related programme. The Department of Languages had been offering Japanese components as well as other languages to a three-year full-time Higher Diploma programme in Trilingual Secretarial Studies since 1976, which was offered by the Department of Business and Management Studies. The programme comprised two major components, which were secretarial studies and three languages – Chinese, English and either French or Japanese⁵⁹³ (German was added as another option in 1977)⁵⁹⁴. Therefore, although the programme nature was different from that of the Diploma in Japanese, Japanese was taught as an integral part of the programme. It aimed specifically at imparting the Japanese skills needed by Hong Kong business offices. Although the three languages shared the annual student intake of 63

⁵⁹⁰ Hara (1988) p.444

⁵⁹¹ Clark (1988) p.468

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., p.469

⁵⁹⁴ Hong Kong Polytechnic Annual Report 1977/78, p.51

equally, it was noted that Japanese was the first choice of the majority and a further allocation/selection process was needed at the start of the academic year⁵⁹⁵. This is yet more evidence of how much the demand for Japanese studies was growing at that time. The Higher Diploma in Trilingual Secretarial Studies was not a Japanese major programme as such but more a business-oriented programme. This is apparent from the fact that it was offered by the Department of Business and Management Studies. The combination of business components and language components in one programme was unique at that time. Yet its practicality reflected the workplace needs of Hong Kong and graduates from the programme were well-received by employers⁵⁹⁶. The foresight behind the programme also impacted subsequent programme design in the tertiary sector in Hong Kong.

The University of Hong Kong, which has the longest history among all tertiary institutions in Hong Kong, was a relatively slow starter in the field of Japanese studies. As discussed above in Chapter 1, it was established in 1911. However, it was not until 1978 that a Japanese language course was offered to its university students in its Language Centre⁵⁹⁷. As a matter of fact, at the University of Hong Kong, which had been the only higher educational institution until 1963, there were no Asian studies courses other than Chinese studies. This might be partly because it adopted British education from the beginning⁵⁹⁸. At that time, in Britain, there was a lack of knowledge and understanding about Japan until Japanese studies began at university level in the mid-1960s with the establishment of the Centre for Japanese Studies at the University of Sheffield for example⁵⁹⁹. Even though in the University of Hong Kong there were some individuals who showed a deep interest in Japanese studies, such as Sir Charles Eliot, its first Vice-Chancellor, or Edmund Blunden, who was a professor in English literature a during

⁵⁹⁵ Clark (1988) p.469

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Hara (1988) p.444

⁵⁹⁸ Hara (2000) p.23

⁵⁹⁹ Irving (1988) p.446

the 1950s, these personal interests did not lead to the commencement of Japanese courses⁶⁰⁰.

However, once the Japanese language course started to be offered, it did not take long before an independent unit dedicated to Japanese studies was set up. In 1985, the Department of Japanese Studies was established at the University of Hong Kong. It started with three full-time teaching staff, including a lecturer sent by the Japan Foundation, and the programme focused on Japanese language education⁶⁰¹. Until then, Japanese courses at the tertiary level were all offered mainly as language courses under the language centre/department or as a part of extramural studies. The fact that an independent department for Japanese studies was established, therefore, had a significant meaning for the development of Japanese studies during this period. It meant that the emergence of Japanese studies had been clearly realized in Hong Kong society, and it surely had an influence on, for example, the establishment of the Department of Japanese Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, slightly later in 1991.

Yet, under the system of the University of Hong Kong at that time, the Japanese studies programme was not yet considered a major programme. Students had to take several courses from different disciplines in the first year and started to learn Japanese and about Japan from the second year, while taking another discipline such as English or Chinese to make a double-major degree⁶⁰². The implementation of the Japanese major programme had to wait until the 1990s.

Founded in 1984, the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong (now City University of Hong Kong) joined the Japanese education circle too. The Department of Languages was set up with the intention to serve exclusively as a service unit within a centralized Learning Resources Centre along with the Library, Computer Centre and Educational Technology

⁶⁰⁰ Hara (2000) pp.23-24

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., p.29

⁶⁰² Society of Japanese Language Education, Hong Kong (2008a) p.22

Centre⁶⁰³. However, it was considered necessary to cater for language needs generally in Hong Kong. The department was approved to offer programmes in translation and interpretation. Accordingly, part-time evening Higher Diploma and Higher Certificate programmes in Translation and Interpretation commenced in the 1984/85 academic year⁶⁰⁴. Apart from these (the Department's own programmes) and servicing courses in English and Chinese, the Department also offered eight extension courses, one of which was the Fundamentals of Translation, Japanese to Chinese⁶⁰⁵. Although this translation course was only offered for one semester, it was the first translation course in Japanese in Hong Kong.

Japanese teaching was implemented at the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong in 1988. The Department of Business and Management introduced the Professional Diploma in International Business programme in that year⁶⁰⁶. It was a multidisciplinary programme in which students were required to elect to study business, culture and language of Japan or China⁶⁰⁷. The course in Japanese at that time was therefore provided as a part of the business programme. With that background, the situation resembled that of the Hong Kong Polytechnic. Although it was not a Japanese major programme, the practical combination with business drew students' attention. It started with an enrolment of 69 students and became a popular programme too. The programme was soon approved to be upgraded to BA (Hons) in International Business Studies from the 1990/91 academic year⁶⁰⁸. This is proof that by the late 1980s studying Japanese was considered to have potential for further development in tertiary education.

With the growth of Japanese studies in the territory, a movement to foster the trend also occurred. In 1978, the Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong was founded with the objective of exchanging views and ideas among the educators of

⁶⁰³ City Polytechnic of Hong Kong Report 1984/1985, p.21

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ City Polytechnic of Hong Kong Report 1984/1985, p.90

⁶⁰⁶ City Polytechnic of Hong Kong Report 1988/89, p.20

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ City Polytechnic of Hong Kong Report 1989/90

Japanese in the region⁶⁰⁹. Apparently, the founding members were the University of Hong Kong, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Polytechnic and the Japanese language course at the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong. An office was set up at the Japan Information & Cultural Centre of the Consulate-General of Japan⁶¹⁰. With the establishment of the Society, structural collaboration and cooperation among the Japanese educators in Hong Kong became possible. To commemorate the establishment, a conference was held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1979, which invited as a speaker, Yoshio Ogawa, the President of the Society for Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language⁶¹¹.

The Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong started the publication of a journal *Nihongo Kyooiku Nyuusu* (The Japanese Language Education News) in 1986⁶¹². A wide variety of articles, reports and essays were contributed by people from different backgrounds. A total of eight volumes and two special issues of *Nihongo Kyooiku Nyuusu* had been published by 1996 and contributed to the development and enhancement of Japanese language teaching in Hong Kong. *Nihongo Kyooiku Nyuusu* also took an important role as a useful resource on the pedagogy, issues, difficulties and problems of Japanese education for people in the sector. It also functioned, as it were, as the voice of Japanese educators when the demand for Japanese learning was showing rapid growth.

The activities of the Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong not only facilitated communication among the Japanese educators but also benefited the learners of Japanese to a great extent. One clear example is the introduction of an official Japanese language test in the territory. The Japan Foundation implemented the Japanese Language Proficiency Test in 1984 in order to evaluate and certify the Japanese language ability of

⁶⁰⁹ Hara (2000) p.27

⁶¹⁰ Society of Japanese Language Education, Hong Kong website:
<http://www.japanese-edu.org.hk> accessed on 5 May 2011

⁶¹¹ Hara (2000) p.27

⁶¹² Society of Japanese Language Education, Hong Kong (2008b) p.39

non-native speakers⁶¹³. Its testing centres were set up worldwide, and Hong Kong was selected as one of them from the beginning. The Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong has co-administered the test in Hong Kong with the Japan Foundation and provided the Hong Kong learners of Japanese with convenient access to the test since then. At the first test held in 1984, Hong Kong had about 1,000 examinees, which was one-seventh of the total examinees worldwide (Table 7.2).

	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996
Examinees in HK	1,054	1,690	1,610	1,905	2,487	2,725	2,723
Examinees worldwide	7,019	17,532	26,855	42,787	68,565	82,327	96,140
Percentage of HK examinees	15.0%	9.6%	6.0%	4.5%	3.6%	3.3%	2.8%

Table 7.2: Number of examinees of Japanese Language Proficiency Test (Level 1-4) in Hong Kong and worldwide. (Data from Society of Japanese Language Education, Hong Kong: <http://www.japanese-edu.org.hk> accessed on 5 May 2011)

As the number of testing centres increased worldwide and the test itself became more recognized, the total number of examinees rapidly rose. As a result, the proportion that Hong Kong occupied declined. However, the number of examinees in Hong Kong itself showed steady growth. Above all, being selected as one of the testing centres from the very beginning proves that Hong Kong's Japanese studies had already grown significantly by the mid-1980s.

Another Japanese-related event that has enhanced Japanese studies in the region is the annual Japanese Language Speech Contest. It was organized by the Japan Society of Hong Kong, which has much a longer history than the Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong. The Japan Society of Hong Kong was established in 1962, when as yet not many people were involved in Japanese studies. As stated in its website, it has the following objectives, among others:

⁶¹³ The Japan Foundation website: <http://www.jlpt.jp/e/about/purpose.html> accessed on 5 May 2011

‘to promote and further the mutual understanding between the people of Hong Kong and Japan; to encourage public interest in the cultural achievements of Japan in the arts, literature, philosophy, science, history, language institutions, industries, life and social and economic matters and to provide scholarships and prizes in furtherance thereof; to establish tuition classes, school and institutions for students to learn the Japanese language; and to organize speeches, exhibitions, assemblies and seminars for the promotion of the objectives of the Society’⁶¹⁴.

In line with these objectives, the first Japanese Language Speech Contest was held in August 1975⁶¹⁵. The Contest has been organized annually since then. In March 1976, the representative from Hong Kong participated in the International Speech Contest in Japanese held in Tokyo⁶¹⁶. Whether the representative was selected from the participants of the first Japanese Language Speech Contest is unknown, but it was recorded that the second Contest held in August 1977 attracted some 500 contestants⁶¹⁷. It is obvious, whichever it was, that the Japanese Language Speech Contest had contributed to Japanese learning at that time. It also shows the extent of popularity of Japanese learning in Hong Kong at that time.

The above has discussed how the demand for Japanese studies emerged and developed during the 1960s-1980s in Hong Kong. Through such discussion, it is clear that the Period of Growth of Demand can be divided into two sub-periods: the 1960s as the first

⁶¹⁴ The Japan Society of Hong Kong website:
<http://www.japansociety-hk.org/eng/about.htm> accessed on 6 May 2011

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ Chen & Yang (2004) p.337

⁶¹⁷ Ibid. p.340

sub-period and the 1970s-1980s as the second. Their characteristics are analysed below.

The 1960s can be characterized by the emergence of Japanese studies. In various sectors, Japanese language education commenced. It was during this period that private Japanese language schools started to open. The Japanese language course under the Japan Information & Cultural Centre of the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong also began. Japanese courses started to be offered at the community services sector and at the extra-mural departments of universities too. The 1960s thus saw the gradual appearance of Japanese courses at various levels and institutions. This foundation was needless to say an important step towards the further growth of Japanese studies in the following two decades. The commencement of these courses indicated the potential of Japanese studies, and led to the rapid growth from the 1970s.

The 1970s and 1980s can be characterized by the growth of Japanese studies. Japanese courses which had already been offered since the 1960s had shown rapid expansion since the 1970s. Especially from the mid-1970s, the number of learners at those Japanese courses dramatically increased. With the development in this period, the level and nature of courses were expanded. Japanese language education became recognized as an important element in Hong Kong's education, reflected in the upgrading of Japanese-offering sections at universities, for example. In this period, not only did existing courses expand, there were new developments too. The first Japanese-major programme at tertiary level was implemented, and the first independent department to offer Japanese studies was established in this period. While Japanese studies showed positive growth, more opportunities were provided to enhance learning. The Japanese Language Speech Contest began under such circumstances. Furthermore, the Japanese Language Proficiency Test began to be held in 1984, making Hong Kong one of the worldwide testing centres. All these proved the recognition of Japanese studies in the region.

However, during this period, Japanese studies were basically equivalent to just

Japanese language education. At the University of Hong Kong, there was only one Japan specialist (as opposed to Japanese language teaching experts) in the 1960s, and even in the late 1980s there were only three⁶¹⁸. Compared with the increase in the number of learners of Japanese, it is obvious that Japan-related courses were not prominent during the period. Other post-secondary institutions such as the Hong Kong Polytechnic or City Polytechnic of Hong Kong mainly focused on providing practical knowledge and skills rather than academic studies. In short, there were Japanese language courses but not many other Japan studies courses. There seems not to have been much demand for Japan-related courses.

Another distinctive feature of Hong Kong's Japanese education at that time was that the vast majority of learners were adults. Earlier data are not available, but surveys conducted by the Japan Foundation in 1990 and 1993 revealed that no learners in Hong Kong were from primary and secondary education. In the case of the 1990 survey, for example, among the total number of 11,865 learners in Hong Kong, 10,739 were adult learners and 1,126 studied at the tertiary institutions⁶¹⁹. Hong Kong was unique in this sense because other regions/countries that had a large number of Japanese learners showed a striking difference. In countries like South Korea, Australia, New Zealand or Indonesia, learners of Japanese were mostly in the primary and secondary education category⁶²⁰. This is a noteworthy point. As described above, there was only one secondary school that had introduced a Japanese class, which was a very exceptional case. Apart from this exception, other Japanese teaching in Hong Kong was carried out as an interest class, extra-mural education for adults or during tertiary education.

In the following chapter, the factors that contributed to the gradual emergence of Japanese studies in Hong Kong in the 1960s and their rapid development since the 1970s will be analyzed.

⁶¹⁸ Hara (1988) p.443

⁶¹⁹ The Japan Foundation (1992)

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

Chapter 8 Growth of Japanese Presence and Pragmatic Motivations

This chapter will analyse the factors that contributed to the growth of the demand for Japanese studies from the 1960s to the 1980s. First, how and to what extent Japan existed in Hong Kong society will be investigated. There will be a close look at the growth of the Japanese community in Hong Kong, the penetration of Japanese goods, culture and customs into the life of Hong Kong people, and the easier accessibility between Hong Kong and Japan. Second, the economic development experienced by the two regions will be discussed. The expansion of trade between Hong Kong and Japan as well as the advancement of Japanese firms into Hong Kong will be examined to determine what influence this had on the growth of Japanese studies. Finally, there will be the analysis of how the Hong Kong mentality affected the development of Japanese studies in this period.

With the end of the World War II, the number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong drastically decreased. At that time when the Consulate-General of Japan reopened in 1952⁶²¹, there were only a small number of Japanese in Hong Kong and they were mostly on short-stay visas or married with Chinese⁶²². Two years later, in October 1954, Hong Kong recommenced issuing visas to Japanese citizens⁶²³. Before this, except those Japanese married to Chinese or other non-Japanese Hong Kong residents, only those who worked at the Consulate-General of Japan were allowed to a long-stay in Hong Kong. These facts tend to show the absence of a significant Japanese community in Hong Kong for at least seven to ten years after the World War II. In addition, at first, a six-month renewable visa was issued only to the workers of Japanese banks, trading corporations, shipping companies, airlines, or insurance companies which were officially registered in

⁶²¹ Honkon Nihonjin Kurabu (2006) p.33

⁶²² Tomosue (1988) p.334

⁶²³ Chen & Yang (2004) p.267

Hong Kong⁶²⁴. Still, the recommencement of the visa issuance was welcomed especially by Japanese companies that had long waited to restart their businesses in Hong Kong. In 1955 alone, for example, large trading corporations including Itochu, Mitsubishi, Marubeni and Sumitomo opened their offices⁶²⁵. With these companies' establishment and the change in visa policy, the number of Japanese residents gradually increased. In 1955, there were 141 Japanese living in Hong Kong⁶²⁶.

In the same year as these large Japanese corporations were established, so was the Hong Kong Japanese Club⁶²⁷. At the time of its foundation in 1955, the Club had 16 corporate members and 90 individual members⁶²⁸. The change in the number of members (as shown in Table 8.1) provides a rough picture of the Japanese community in Hong Kong from the mid-1950s to the late 1990s.

	1955	1958	1961	1964	1967	1970	1973	1976	1979	1982	1985	1988
Corporate	16	37	46	57	-	-	-	137	207	309	308	386
Individual	90	167	274	423	609	661	957	1,201	1,734	2,318	2,186	2,598

Table 8.1: Number of corporate members and individual members of the Hong Kong Japanese Club. (Data from Honkon Nihonjin Kurabu (2006) p.71)

There is no available data on the number of corporate members from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. However, there were 137 of them in 1976 while there were only 57 in 1964 (see Table 8.1). In addition, there was a continual increase in the number of individual members in that period. It can be safely inferred that there was also a continual growth in the number of corporate members during the period. It is clear that after the recommencement of visa issuance for the Japanese, the Japanese community in Hong Kong demonstrated stable growth. The slowdown in the mid-1980s might have been partly

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Chen & Yang (2004) p.268

⁶²⁶ Ibid., p.269

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Tomosue (1988) p.335

caused by the uncertainty of Hong Kong's future after the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. Yet, backed up by the well-performing economy, it started to increase again before long.

The Hong Kong Japanese Club aims to promote friendship and mutual assistance among members, to improve the welfare of the members, and to extend services and friendship to the Hong Kong community⁶²⁹. At the very beginning, the Club functioned both as a club for the Japanese and a Chamber of Commerce, and even had an educational and commercial section⁶³⁰. It was recorded that the educational section started supplementary lessons for Japanese children from around 1962⁶³¹. This became the first step towards the foundation of the Hong Kong Japanese School, which was achieved three years later⁶³². Even though it started on a small scale, the establishment of the Hong Kong Japanese Club was evidence that there was a Japanese community and there was a foundation for its growth.

The population census conducted in 1961 did not specify ethnicity or nationality of each resident, and simply divided the residents into Chinese or non-Chinese categories⁶³³. It is therefore not possible to know the exact number of Japanese residents at that time. In the government's annual report, however, the non-Chinese residents were given some major nationality groupings. As the number was based on the data from the Aliens' Registration Office, which excluded children under 16 years old, it would not reflect the full picture. Yet, the data can shed some light on the trend of development. Figure 8.1 below shows the number of Japanese residents who had registered at the Alien's Registration Office and were over 16 years old. Although the number fluctuated, the increase during the 1960s is noteworthy. Until 1962, the number of Japanese residents was

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Ibid., p.336

⁶³² Chen & Yang (2004) p.291

⁶³³ Census Commissioner (1962)

very small. Indeed, the proportion of Japanese in the total population was only about 0.012-0.019 per cent. Then the mid-1960s saw a sudden increase in numbers of Japanese. From the 1962 level, it doubled in two years and trebled in four. Then, it continuously declined until the early 1970s, when it showed a quick recovery, albeit with another fall around the mid-1970s.

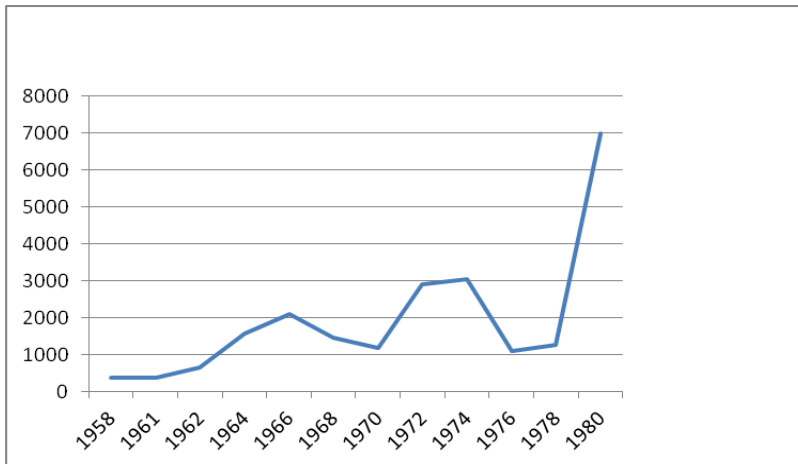


Figure 8.1: Number of Japanese residents of over 16 years old in Hong Kong in the 1960s and 1970s. (Data from Hong Kong Annual Reports) *The figure of 1980 is the estimated number of Japanese residents of all age groups.

Another set of data (which was from the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong), on the other hand, shows a slightly different picture. These data (as shown in Figure 8.2) are based on the number of Japanese nationals who had informed the Japanese Consulate-General of their residence in Hong Kong. Therefore, these figures again do not represent the actual numbers. However, they do not show such a fluctuation as observed in Figure 8.1.

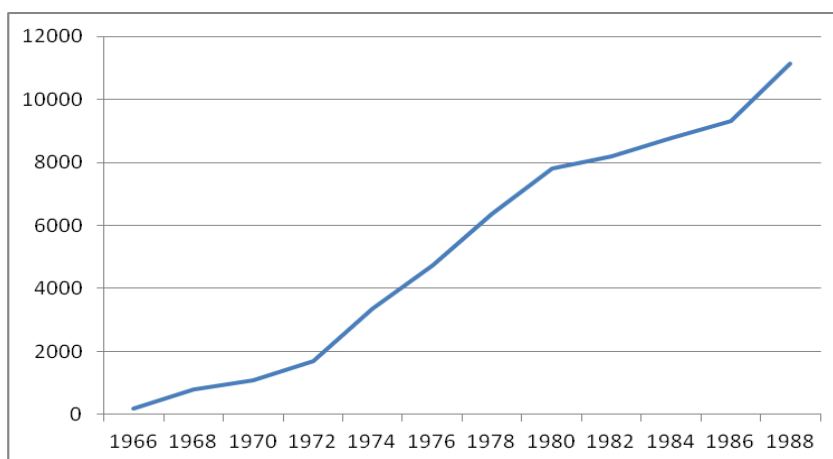


Figure 8.2: Number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong. (Data from the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong in the Hong Kong Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1989) p.44)

The figures until 1972 are smaller than those in Figure 8.1, but from 1974 onwards they exceed the Figure 8.1 figures. However, from both sets of data, it is certain that there were about 7,000 Japanese residents in 1980 and there was a substantial increase between 1970 and 1980.

As was mentioned earlier, these figures do not represent the full picture. The lack of accuracy in these must be taken into account. Nonetheless, the substantial rise in the number of Japanese residents between 1970 and 1980 should have somehow affected Hong Kong people's recognition of Japanese presence in the region. Also, the Hong Kong Japanese School was established in the mid-1960s. The number of children who studied there also showed a steady increase⁶³⁴. Since the number of children is not reflected in the Figure 8.1 data, the impact of the Japanese presence is likely to have been greater than these figures suggest.

However, the 1980 figure in Figure 8.1 may, at first glance, be considered suspicious. There was a sudden and dramatic increase between 1978 and 1980. In addition, the 1980 figure was not based on the number of Alien's Registrations but was the estimated number of total Japanese residents. However, the census conducted in 1981 proved that the

⁶³⁴ Hong Kong Japanese School website: [http:// www.hkjs.edu.hk/index3.html](http://www.hkjs.edu.hk/index3.html) accessed on 15 May 2011

estimation was quite close to the reality. From 1981, the population census specified the race or nationality of each resident. At the time of census in 1981, there were 6,740 Japanese residing in Hong Kong out of a total population of 4,986,560, representing 0.135 per cent which was almost the same as the estimate for 1980⁶³⁵. Judging from this, the actual figures of Japanese residents in the 1960s and 1970s might be much larger than those in Figure 8.1 above.

The Hong Kong Japanese School Primary Section was established in 1965⁶³⁶ in order to provide a Japanese-style education for children residing in Hong Kong. Although it was not limited to Japanese nationals, the curriculum followed the guidelines set by the Ministry of Education of Japan, using Japanese textbooks and taught by Japanese teachers sent from Japan. It was not easy to open the Japanese school because of Hong Kong's complicated political situation and the historical background of the Japanese occupation, which was still not very long ago at that time. It was finally approved however as a private school with the support of the Hong Kong government and some Chinese representatives⁶³⁷. The Hong Kong Japanese School was the fifth overseas Japanese school in the world and the first Japanese school officially approved by the local educational law⁶³⁸. Therefore the school was also open to the local community, unlike other Japanese schools in other regions, although in reality most students were Japanese children because of the school curriculum. It also proves that Hong Kong expected to have a growing number of Japanese residents and it was considered necessary to offer them Japanese-style education. The School's Secondary Section followed in 1967⁶³⁹. The Primary Section started with 70 students, while the Secondary Section had only ten⁶⁴⁰. Then the numbers

⁶³⁵ Census and Statistics Department (1982)

⁶³⁶ Chen & Yang (2004), p.291

⁶³⁷ Honkon Nihonjin Kurabu (2006) p.82

⁶³⁸ Kurayama (1988) p.456

⁶³⁹ Hong Kong Japanese School website: [http:// www.hkjs.edu.hk/index3.html](http://www.hkjs.edu.hk/index3.html) accessed on 15 May 2011

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

started to increase continuously and increased nearly ten times in the first ten years (Figure 8.3).



Figure 8.3: Number of students at Hong Kong Japanese School Primary Section and Secondary Section. (Data from Hong Kong Japanese School website: [http:// www.hkjs.edu.hk/index3.html](http://www.hkjs.edu.hk/index3.html) accessed on 15 May 2011)

It is clear from the data that there was a rapid increase in the 1970s. In order to respond to the situation, a new school building was built in 1974, followed by a further extension in 1979⁶⁴¹. In 1982, the Secondary Section erected its own new building and became independent⁶⁴². Thus Hong Kong Japanese School experienced steady growth. This also implies that the total number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong similarly showed rapid growth. Consequently the Japanese community in Hong Kong must have been more visible during the 1970s.

The presence of Japanese in Hong Kong people's life also became more prominent in other ways during this period. One of the earliest milestones for it was the establishment of the Hong Kong office of the Japan External Trade Recovery Organization

⁶⁴¹ Tomosue (1988) p.336

⁶⁴² Ibid.

(currently the Japan External Trade Organization/JETRO) in October 1957⁶⁴³. Its primary purpose at that time was, as the name suggests, the resumption of private trade with overseas⁶⁴⁴. The establishment of the Hong Kong office therefore helped Japanese goods enter the Hong Kong market more easily. Together with the recommencement of visas being issued to the Japanese in 1954, this contributed to laying the foundation of Japanese penetration into the daily lives of Hong Kong people.

Japanese household electrical appliances began to be imported from Japan to Hong Kong in the 1960s. During the post-War period until the 1950s, most of them in Hong Kong were imported from the West⁶⁴⁵. Then, in the 1960s, Japanese makers came to the Hong Kong market by establishing their dealer shops or offices in the territory⁶⁴⁶. At first, the major household electrical appliances imported in Hong Kong were small appliances such as transistorized radios, electric fans or electric rice cookers, but in the 1970s, those included colour televisions and video recorders⁶⁴⁷. It was 1972 when the first colour televisions were imported from Japan, after which various makers rushed to the Hong Kong market⁶⁴⁸. By that time, Hong Kong had become one of the largest markets for Japan. It can be easily imagined that more Japanese products were seen and used in Hong Kong by the mid-1970s.

Japanese retailers also expanded their business to Hong Kong. In Hong Kong during the 1960s, there were only a few large retailers such as Hong Kong-based Wing On, Sincere, Lane Crawford, or Japan-based Daimaru⁶⁴⁹, while others were small or medium sized retailers like local wet markets. Daimaru was the only Japanese department store in

⁶⁴³ Chen & Yang (2004) p.271

⁶⁴⁴ The Japan External Trade Organization website: <http://www.jetro.go.jp/en/jetro/profile/> accessed on 17 May 2011

⁶⁴⁵ Watanabe & Mizutani (1999) p.177

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁷ Yamazaki (1999) p.255

⁶⁴⁸ Wada & Furuya (1989) p.182

⁶⁴⁹ Yamazaki (1999) p.255

Hong Kong in the 1960s. It was established in November 1960⁶⁵⁰. It did not have any Japanese competitors for over a decade. In other words, Hong Kong in the 1960s was not yet ready for the advance of Japanese retailers. Yet, the opening of Daimaru drew attention from local people, and it was reported that 100,000 people went to see the store on the day after its opening⁶⁵¹. The popularity of Daimaru is evidenced by the fact that the public light bus service used “Daimaru” as one of the destinations of its Causeway Bay route, although it did not stop in front of the store. The name is still used even after Daimaru ceased their Hong Kong operation in 1998⁶⁵².

The 1970s was the period when a new form of retailers was introduced in Hong Kong. Supermarket chains like ParknShop and Wellcome rapidly developed their business by opening a number of shops all over Hong Kong. Japanese department stores also made an impact on Hong Kong’s retail business. Since 1960, Daimaru had kept its status as the only Japanese department store, but in 1973, Isetan opened their first store in Tsim Sha Tsui area, which was followed by Matsuzakaya’s opening a store in Causeway Bay in 1975⁶⁵³. Tsim Sha Tsui and Causeway Bay were the major shopping districts in Kowloon and the Hong Kong Island respectively. Together with Daimaru which was in Causeway Bay, these Japanese department stores came to be recognized in Hong Kong society.

Japanese department stores brought not only Japanese goods but also the Japanese management system. The Japanese style of management which ascribed great importance to customer services also affected Hong Kong-based retailers⁶⁵⁴. The Japanese stores also introduced the system of selling goods by fixed price⁶⁵⁵. These new concepts that the Japanese department stores brought gradually spread in Hong Kong⁶⁵⁶. There was further

⁶⁵⁰ Chen & Yang (2004) p.278

⁶⁵¹ Honkon Nihonjin Kurabu (2006) p.101

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ Yamazaki (1999) p.255

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

advancement of Japanese department stores and general merchandise stores in the 1980s.

These large Japanese retailers' style of management was well accepted by the Hong Kong community⁶⁵⁷. The success of the three department stores by the 1970s attracted more retail business from Japan. Mitsukoshi opened its first store in Causeway Bay in 1981, followed by a second store in Tsim Sha Tsui in 1988, while Tokyu in Tsim Sha Tsui and Sogo in Causeway Bay also started their businesses in 1982 and 1985 respectively⁶⁵⁸. Meanwhile, Matsuzakaya expanded their business and opened its second store in Admiralty (a business district on Hong Kong Island) in 1981, Daimaru also opened its second store in Causeway Bay in 1983, and Isetan its second in Aberdeen on Hong Kong Island in 1987⁶⁵⁹. By the end of the 1980s, the total sales of Japanese department stores accounted for 20 per cent of the total sales of Hong Kong's department stores⁶⁶⁰.

It was not only department stores that entered the Hong Kong market. Japanese general merchandise stores also contributed to the development of Hong Kong's retail business. Yaohan established its first store in 1984⁶⁶¹. The timing of the advancement to Hong Kong was almost the same as other department stores mentioned above, but Yaohan had something unique in its strategy. As was described above, Japanese department stores placed their business base in the heart of Hong Kong's shopping districts, Tsim Sha Tsui and Causeway Bay. The locations gave those department stores an atmosphere of tradition and exclusivity which attracted wealthy customers⁶⁶². It is obvious that they could make full use of their geographical advantage in opening their stores in these busy streets.

However, Yaohan used a completely different approach and opened its first store in Shatin, which was one of the so-called new towns still being developed in the New

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p.256

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Chen & Yang (2004) p.369

⁶⁶² Wong (1998) p.256

Territories⁶⁶³. The process of Yaohan's establishment in Shatin is noteworthy. At the beginning of the 1980s, Sino-British negotiations over the future of Hong Kong started, and brought a sharp downturn in Hong Kong's economic growth⁶⁶⁴. Because of the political uncertainties, one of Hong Kong's famous property developers, Sun Hung Kai, could not find a large-scale retailer to operate an anchor store at a shopping centre in Shatin which was about to complete. Their attention shifted to Japanese retailers, but large ones were unwilling to invest there. Finally the project was brought to Yaohan, and after a long negotiation, Yaohan obtained a 10-year lease from Sun Hung Kai at a very favourable rate to operate their store in Hong Kong⁶⁶⁵. Shatin at that time had a far smaller population than districts in Kowloon and Hong Kong Island, and its population was mainly composed of young families. Even in Japan, Yaohan was categorized as a regional supermarket since they did not run stores in Tokyo, Osaka or Nagoya, and only had a tiny share of the Japanese retail business⁶⁶⁶. Similarly in Hong Kong, Yaohan operated their stores, including later established ones, in new towns unchallenged by any other major retailing presence⁶⁶⁷.

Yet, aiming at a different group of consumers, Yaohan paved its way to success. While department stores such as Matsuzakaya, Mitsukoshi or Sogo put the primary focus on luxurious brand products for Hong Kong's fast growing wealthy class and foreign visitors, Yaohan mainly sold food, clothes and daily necessities for Hong Kong's middle class⁶⁶⁸. By avoiding direct competition with large department stores, but probably at the same time taking the advantage of enjoying their previous success (in setting a good reputation and image of Japanese retailers), Yaohan was easily and quickly accepted by the target community. Therefore it did not take long before they expanded their business. In

⁶⁶³ Yamazaki (1999) p.256

⁶⁶⁴ Wong (1998) p.263

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., pp.265-264

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., P.256

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., p.268

⁶⁶⁸ Yamazaki (1999) p.256

1987, a Tuen Mun store opened in the north of the New Territories, and in 1988 a Hung Hom store followed⁶⁶⁹.

Yaohan's success was partly owed to the development of new large residential buildings. It became common for the private real estate sector to build mega-scale shopping arcades attached to residential buildings⁶⁷⁰. Having seen the success of Yaohan, many developers approached Japanese general merchandise stores to invite them to become tenants. In this movement, Uny opened its first store in Taikoo Shing in 1987 and Jusco in Cornhill soon followed in the same year⁶⁷¹. Both Taikoo Shing and Cornhill are in the north-east of the Hong Kong Island. This style of retail business was widely welcomed in Hong Kong and affected the management of local supermarkets in future⁶⁷².

Yaohan's success was also brought by luck. As was mentioned above, when Yaohan started negotiating with Sun Hung Kai, Hong Kong was experiencing political uncertainty about the future. Yaohan in a sense took a risk and decided to open their store in Hong Kong. As a matter of fact, however, just ten days after the opening of its Shatin store, the Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed in Beijing, which promised that Hong Kong's capitalist economic system and lifestyle would remain unchanged for 50 years after 1 July 1997⁶⁷³. This initially relieved people's anxiety, they regained their confidence and the economy restarted its growth. Against this backdrop, Yaohan successfully entered the Hong Kong market and developed quickly.

With the rapid and large scale expansion of Japanese department stores and general merchandise stores, Japanese products became more common in Hong Kong people's daily lives. What made it possible was the improvement in the general income of Hong Kong people⁶⁷⁴. In fact, until the mid-1970s, Hong Kong's economy was unstable.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Ibid.

⁶⁷³ Wong (1998) p.272

⁶⁷⁴ Yamazaki (1999) p.255

The 1967 riot that started from a dispute at an artificial flower factory quickly spread all over Hong Kong and damaged the daily life of the great majority of local people⁶⁷⁵. Although the Hong Kong economy showed a gradual recovery from 1969, the 1973 oil crisis again caused devastation⁶⁷⁶. Then, since 1975, the economy of Hong Kong had grown dramatically, which greatly improved people's daily lives⁶⁷⁷. The economic growth of Hong Kong itself contributed to creating the fundamental environment for the advancement of Japanese department stores and general merchandise stores is obvious.

The introduction of Japanese general merchandise stores also gradually familiarized Hong Kong people with Japanese food culture. The first Japanese restaurant in post-war Hong Kong, Tokyo Restaurant, opened in 1959 and was located on the top floor of the Imperial Hotel in Tsim Sha Tsui⁶⁷⁸. It was followed in 1960 by Nagoya Restaurant in the basement of the President Hotel (also in Tsim Sha Tsui), and another one run by Shin-Osaka Hotel in Daimaru which opened in Causeway Bay⁶⁷⁹. Kanetanaka in Tsim Sha Tsui followed in 1964⁶⁸⁰. Although the number was still very limited, those restaurants imported Japanese style ranging from the internal decoration and furniture to the ingredients and seasoning⁶⁸¹. As ingredients and seasoning were imported from Japan, the price of food served in these Japanese restaurants was very high. At that time, when the average monthly income of Hong Kong people was around 200 dollars, *sukiyaki* (Japanese hot pot) cost 30 dollars⁶⁸². But, the taste and atmosphere were exactly the same as the ones in Japan. In the early days of the introduction of Japanese restaurants in Hong Kong, their primary target customers were the Japanese nationals residing in Hong Kong or Japanese

⁶⁷⁵ Yep (2008) p.122

⁶⁷⁶ Habuchi & Ikegami (1989) pp.177-178

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Honkon Nihonjin Kurabu (2006) p.95

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸² Ibid.

tourists visiting Hong Kong⁶⁸³. Even though the number of Japanese residents at that time was still small, as most of them were high-ranking expatriates of Japanese companies and their families, their consumption ability was high enough to enjoy the expensive food.

In the 1960s, there were only the four Japanese restaurants listed above, which is natural when the number of Japanese residents at that time is taken into consideration. Then, in the 1970s, more Japanese began to come to Hong Kong as its economy grew. The number of Japanese restaurants simultaneously increased in that decade. During the first half of the 1970s, several restaurants, such as Yamato, Okahan, Saito, Maguro-ya, Otafuku, Yagyuu and Ozeki, opened⁶⁸⁴.

In the 1980s, with the further economic growth of Hong Kong and attracted by the success of Japanese restaurants in the 1970s, the Hong Kong Chinese joined the business. A typical example of a Hong Kong-owned Japanese restaurant was Suisha-ya, that opened in the Causeway Bay area⁶⁸⁵. These local Japanese restaurants were supported by a burgeoning middle class of Hong Kong people. Japanese food began to spread in the Hong Kong community. On the other hand, Japanese-owned Japanese restaurants did not show such rapid growth during the 1980s as local Japanese restaurants did. Although the business was going well, there were not so many new-comers in the Hong Kong market. The core of the Japanese restaurant sector was formed by Kanetanaka, Nadaman, Osaka (previously Yamato), and Sagano or Unkai, which were expensive restaurants targeting Japanese expatriates and the local wealthy class⁶⁸⁶.

Thus, the foundation of Japanese restaurant sector was formed in the 1970s by Japanese-owned Japanese restaurants which introduced an authentic style of Japanese food to Hong Kong. It was then expanded especially by the local Chinese who had seen the business opportunity in the sector. The Japanese food business grew this way along with

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid. p.97

the booming Hong Kong economy.

The growth of the Japanese community in Hong Kong, the advancement of the Japanese retail business and the introduction of Japanese food culture during the 1970s and the 1980s all contributed to clear recognition of Japanese presence in Hong Kong. In other words, Hong Kong people became more familiar with the Japanese, their society and culture during this period. At the same time, another significant wave from Japan was starting to arrive in Hong Kong. It was during this period that Japanese popular culture began to be introduced to Hong Kong society.

The first free-to-air television broadcasting was introduced in November 1967 by Hong Kong Television Broadcasts (TVB)⁶⁸⁷. Prior to their broadcasting service, there was a television service operated by Rediffusion (Hong Kong) Ltd. (RTV), which was a subscription cable television. Each of these stations broadcast an English channel and a Chinese channel, which made altogether four channels operating in Hong Kong⁶⁸⁸. However, in the 1960s, television viewing was not a common activity for most Hong Kong people. In 1968, when the estimated total population was about 3.9 million, the potential viewing audience was estimated at 735,000⁶⁸⁹. It was equivalent to 12.3 per cent of TVs in home penetration against the total domestic households⁶⁹⁰. Then, television ownership in Hong Kong increased at an incredibly fast pace. By the mid-1970s, nearly 90 per cent of households possessed one or more television sets (Figure 8.4).

⁶⁸⁷ The Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Nov. 1967- Dec. 1970

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁰ The Fourth Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Aug. 1974 - Dec. 1975

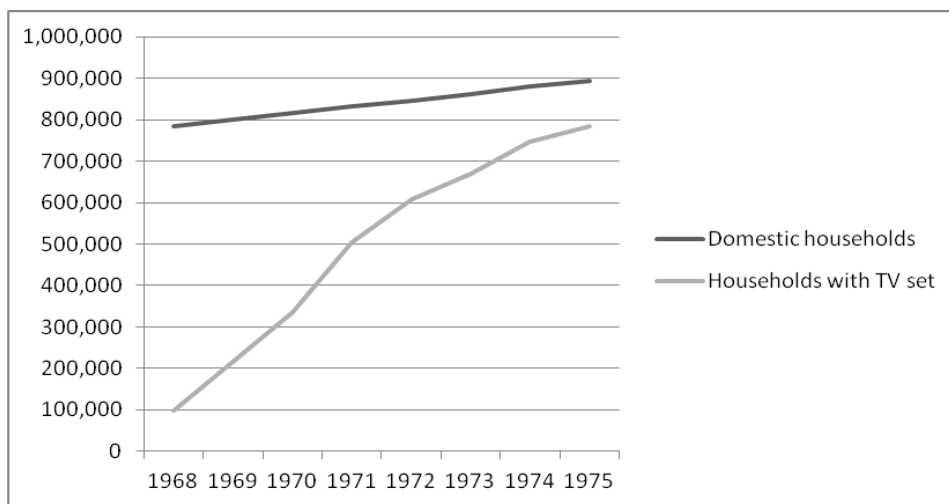


Figure 8.4: Estimated number of domestic households and those with TV set. (Data from the Fourth Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong)

With the expiry of the exclusive wired television licence for Rediffusion (Hong Kong) Ltd. in 1973, a new wireless television licence for one Chinese channel and one English channel was issued to Rediffusion Television Ltd., and another for a Chinese channel to Commercial Television Ltd⁶⁹¹. Accordingly, five free-to-air channels became available by the end of 1975, which indicated the growth of television broadcasting.

Although television viewing became much more common during the 1970s, the TV stations relied on foreign programmes for a considerable amount of television programmes. Imported programmes for English channels were principally from America, Britain and Australia⁶⁹². On the other hand, a number of Japanese programmes were broadcast on the Chinese channels. There was a heavy reliance by the stations on Japan as a source of programmes which appealed to the young⁶⁹³. As television viewing had become common by the mid-1970s, it can be deduced that a number of Japanese programmes had been viewed by Hong Kong people by then.

A variety of Japanese programmes, including cartoons, soap operas and situational

⁶⁹¹ The Third Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Jan. 1973 - Jul. 1974

⁶⁹² The Fourth Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Aug. 1974 - Dec. 1975

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

comedies, were dubbed into the local Cantonese dialect for broadcast. Among them, particularly, cartoon series were welcomed by the Television Advisory Board for their addition to the schedules⁶⁹⁴. On the other hand, however, some Japanese programmes were considered, in the early days, to contain a considerable amount of explicit violence and the glorification of ruthless aggressiveness⁶⁹⁵. Yet, those programmes containing an undesirable amount of violence had gradually been reduced both by the voluntary action of the TV stations in either limiting or replacing those programmes and by the executive action of the Television Authority in curtailing some new series of a similar type⁶⁹⁶. Through this process, more Japanese programmes of high entertainment quality entertaining were broadcast to Hong Kong viewers.

The reliance on foreign programmes was even more prominent in the 1980s. For example, from January 1980 to June 1981, altogether 2,360 films and 3,442 films were approved for exhibition for RTV and TVB respectively⁶⁹⁷. Among them, 683 films for RTV and 1,108 films for TVB originated from Japan⁶⁹⁸. In other words, 29 per cent of films broadcast on RTV and 32 per cent for those on TVB were from Japan⁶⁹⁹. It was the second heaviest reliance next to films which originated from the U.S.A⁷⁰⁰. As the Hong Kong-made films for both Cantonese and Mandarin programmes were only 2.5 per cent for RTV and 0.3 per cent for TVB at that time⁷⁰¹, how far Hong Kong television stations relied on foreign programmes is very obvious. In fact, apart from U.S.A. and Japan, programme material commonly came from U.K., Canada, Australia and mainland China⁷⁰². Apparently,

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁵ The Third Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Jan. 1973 - Jul. 1974

⁶⁹⁶ The Fourth Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Aug. 1974 - Dec. 1975

⁶⁹⁷ The Eighth Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Jan. 1980 - Jun. 1981

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.

⁷⁰² Ibid.

these programmes were directly broadcast on the English or Chinese channels without the need of translation (although those in Mandarin were commonly dubbed into Cantonese). It is therefore an interesting fact that Japanese programmes, which had to be translated into Chinese, were selected with such high frequency.

In 1982, even after Rediffusion Television Limited changed its name to Asian Television Limited (ATV), the same situation continued. Japanese programmes occupied a large portion of the Chinese channels. According to the analysis of television programmes based on the total viewing time during the week from 3 June 1984 to 9 June 1984, 8.2 per cent and 7.3 per cent of the total viewing time of ATV Chinese channel and TVB Jade (Chinese) channel respectively were Japanese-origin programmes⁷⁰³. In terms of the total viewing time, Hong Kong-made programmes accounted for over 70 per cent for the Chinese channels of both stations⁷⁰⁴. As American programmes took 13 per cent of ATV and 10 per cent of TVB Chinese channels, it is clear that the Japanese share was not small⁷⁰⁵.

The number of Japanese films approved for exhibition by the panel of film censors continued to take a high percentage of the total films. During the period January 1983 to June 1984, 2,647 films and 5,313 films were approved for exhibition for ATV and TVB respectively⁷⁰⁶. Of these films, 911 for ATV and 1,308 for TVB were from Japan⁷⁰⁷. This is about 34 per cent for ATV and 25 per cent for TVB. These are significant proportions.

There was a significant movement in the mid-1980s in relation to television programmes. In Hong Kong, all broadcasts had been in Chinese (including Mandarin) and English. However, demand for programmes in other languages emerged.

⁷⁰³ The Tenth Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Jan. 1983 - Jun. 1984

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

We are aware of the interests of minority groups and of their desire to view special programmes in Hong Kong. Accordingly, approval was given to enable the licensees to designate fringe time slots for the broadcast of programmes in languages other than English and Chinese. Japanese language programmes are now screened on both stations⁷⁰⁸.

This special reference to Japanese language programmes in the Television Advisory Board's report was interesting because Japanese was not the only minority group in Hong Kong. There should be others who wished to watch non-English and non-Chinese programmes. Yet, this is evidence that there was demand for Japanese programmes and they become one of the first foreign language programmes aired.

As television viewing became the major leisure activity for the majority of Hong Kong population by the mid-1970s, when the possession of television sets rose to 90 per cent of the total population, the role that the Japanese-made programmes played was significant. Even if the contents were translated into Chinese, Hong Kong viewers had plenty of opportunities to see Japanese life style, society, customs, culture and the like. Some aspects of Japanese popular culture were brought to Hong Kong through the development of television.

As was mentioned above, programmes for children heavily relied on Japanese productions. Naturally, Hong Kong children were easily influenced by the Japanese cartoons and other programmes. This generation therefore would have a different mentality towards Japan from their parents' generation. Through watching Japanese television programmes from childhood, they may have gained a feeling of closeness to or familiarity with Japan and its culture. This could have exerted a positive influence on the later

⁷⁰⁸ The Eleventh Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of Television in Hong Kong for Jul. 1984 - Dec. 1985, pp.7-8

expansion of Japanese studies.

Not only did the heavy reliance on Japanese TV programmes provide Hong Kong people with opportunities to know more about Japanese daily life and customs, it raised the value of Japanese-speaking personnel. These programmes needed people well versed in the language to translate the scripts into Chinese or English. Those who started to have an interest in Japanese through watching Japanese TV programmes realized that they could make use of knowledge of the language as their career. This potential application was significant. The practicability had important meaning for the development of Japanese studies.

Japanese popular songs also came to be known to Hong Kong people. At first, this happened through the theme songs of Japanese TV dramas in the 1970s, which were covered by Chinese singers in Cantonese⁷⁰⁹. Although both the dramas and songs were re-produced in Cantonese, this phenomenon laid the foundations of the growing popularity of Japanese popular songs in the 1980s. Hong Kong people started listening to both the cover versions and original Japanese songs in the 1980s. In particular, the presence of Japanese original songs became more prominent in the mid-1980s, some through radio programmes featuring only Japanese popular songs in their original forms⁷¹⁰. The period corresponds to the time when foreign language programmes other than in English started to be broadcast on Hong Kong TV stations. It could be considered that by that time Hong Kong was ready to accept raw material from foreign cultures.

With the growing popularity of original Japanese songs, more Japanese singers came to be widely known to Hong Kong people too. This affected the production of cover versions of Japanese songs. In the early days, these were recorded out of necessity, as in the case of theme songs of Japanese TV dramas. Therefore, the original Japanese versions were not generally known or of much interest to Hong Kong people. However, gradually

⁷⁰⁹ Ogawa (2004) p.146

⁷¹⁰ Ibid. p.147

the situation changed. As more Japanese singers became popular with Hong Kong people, some songs were covered by Hong Kong singers because of the original songs' popularity. In this case, the original version came into the Hong Kong market and became popular first before the cover versions were produced. Therefore, cases like one Japanese song being covered by four different Hong Kong singers occurred⁷¹¹.

Another important factor during the Period of Growth of Demand was the fact that accessibility between Hong Kong and Japan had dramatically improved. In other words, the “distance” between the two regions became much closer than before. This was largely owing to the development of transportation and the economic growth of both regions. It became possible to enjoy more frequent and convenient travel between the two places.

The number of Japanese tourists coming to Hong Kong increased during this period. In 1964, travelling to foreign countries for Japanese people was liberalized, and two years later in 1966, the restriction on the frequency of overseas travel was abolished⁷¹². In addition, with the economic development of Japan, the limit on foreign currency that each person could take out of Japan was increased from US\$500 in 1966 to US\$700 in 1969, US\$1,000 in 1970 and US\$3,000 in 1971⁷¹³. This background caused a boom in overseas travel among Japanese and Hong Kong became one of the popular destinations for Japanese. In 1964, the year that overseas travel for the Japanese was liberalized, 47,251 Japanese people visited Hong Kong, which doubled to 96,387 in four years⁷¹⁴.

The establishment of an office of the Hong Kong Tourist Association in Tokyo at first in the office of Cathay Pacific Airways in 1964⁷¹⁵ also contributed to the increase in Japanese tourists. The objectives of the Association were to endeavour to increase the number of visitors to Hong Kong, to further the development of Hong Kong as a tourist

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

⁷¹² Kimura (1989) p.271

⁷¹³ Ibid.

⁷¹⁴ Japan National Tourism Organization (2011)

⁷¹⁵ Barrow (1989) p.83

destination, to promote the improvement of facilities for visitors, to secure overseas publicity for the tourist attractions of Hong Kong, to co-ordinate the activities of persons providing services for visitors to Hong Kong, and to make recommendations to and advise the Governor in relation to any measures which may be taken to further any of the foreign matters⁷¹⁶. Along with these objectives, the Association set up an individual office in Tokyo in 1966 and expanded promotional activities⁷¹⁷.

As Figure 8.5 below shows, the number of Japanese tourists visiting Hong Kong continuously increased in the 20 years between 1968 and 1988. The increase in the number of Japanese visitors is prominent at the beginning of the 1970s and the mid-1980s. The number of Japanese tourists increased from less than 100,000 persons in 1968 to exceed one million persons 20 years afterwards. More importantly, throughout the period, the Japanese tourists accounted for about 20-30 per cent of the total tourists who visited Hong Kong. Among the different countries, Japan had been sending the largest number of visitors to Hong Kong, except in 1985, when visitors from the U.S.A. slightly exceeded those from Japan⁷¹⁸. Even from Japan's perspective, from 1968 to 1973, over 20 per cent of people who went overseas headed for Hong Kong⁷¹⁹. Although the increase slowed down in the mid-1970s, possibly because of the 1973 oil crisis and unfavourable exchange rate of Japanese currency against the Hong Kong dollar, the figures showed a steady increase.

⁷¹⁶ Hong Kong Tourist Association Ordinance (Chapter 302) in 1957

⁷¹⁷ Barrow (1989) p.83

⁷¹⁸ Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, January 1987

⁷¹⁹ Kimura (1989) p.271

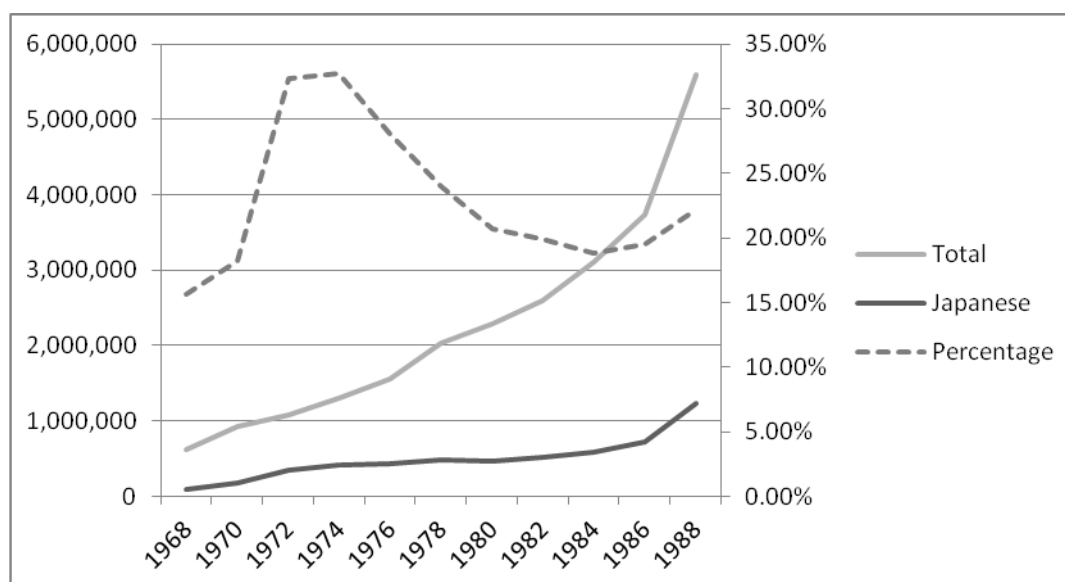


Figure 8.5: Number of Japanese visitors, total number of foreign visitors to Hong Kong and percentage of Japanese tourists.
(Data from Kimura (1989) p.273)

The increase in numbers of Japanese tourists in fact drew people's attention and heightened the demand for Japanese studies. A good example that reflected the situation was seen regarding the Japanese course at the Hong Kong Polytechnic. As was described in Chapter 7, the Hong Kong Polytechnic implemented a full-time diploma course in Japanese in 1977. Among the first student cohort were officers from the Royal Hong Kong Police (as shown in the quotation from the Royal Hong Kong Police Review below). Also, at the Police Education and Language Section, language training and further education were provided for members of the Police Force on an intensive full-time and day release basis⁷²⁰. The language training naturally meant English language training for Chinese officers as well as Cantonese teaching for overseas officers. For this training, however, Japanese was also adopted as a foreign language⁷²¹. The quotation below shows the connection between the rise in the number of Japanese tourists and the demand for Japanese language education in the police force.

⁷²⁰ Royal Hong Kong Police Review 1979, p.24

⁷²¹ Ibid.

During 1979 five junior Police officers successfully completed a full-time two-year diploma course in the Japanese language at the Hong Kong Polytechnic. Ten officers commenced a similar course in October and it is hoped that the Polytechnic will be able to arrange an annual intake at this level *so as to facilitate contacts between the Force and the many thousands of Japanese tourists who visit Hong Kong each year* (emphasis added)⁷²².

It is noteworthy that the Hong Kong Polytechnic actually set an annual intake for the Police from the 1980 cohort upon their request so that some officers could secure their seats in the course⁷²³. This proves how seriously the Police considered the increase in numbers of Japanese tourists. Although the number of learners in this category was very small and they were not studying Japanese out of interest, this clearly indicates that the presence of Japanese was getting more recognized, which raised the importance of Japanese studies.

Then a second wave of Japanese visitors to Hong Kong was observed from the mid-1980s owing to the stronger Japanese yen exchange rate and the stabilisation of Hong Kong's inflation rate during this period⁷²⁴. At the same time in Japan, the Ministry of Transport carried out a campaign called "ten million programme", with which it aimed at doubling the number of tourists visiting overseas in five years from 1987⁷²⁵. This accelerated the overseas travel boom, and consequently the number of visitors to Hong Kong showed a dramatic increase. Such a large number of Japanese visitors definitely heightened the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong.

Of course, it was not a one-way movement. The number of Hong Kong tourists visiting Japan also increased. Prior to the liberalization of overseas travel for the Japanese,

⁷²² Ibid.

⁷²³ Royal Hong Kong Police Review 1980

⁷²⁴ Royal Hong Kong Police Review 1980, pp.271-272

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

the Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) set up its office in Hong Kong in December 1963⁷²⁶. One of the main objectives of JNTO was apparently to promote tourism to Japan through a wide variety of activities and to provide up-to-date information on travel to and in Japan⁷²⁷.

The flight route between Hong Kong and Japan had been established much earlier in 1955, following the reissuance of visas for the Japanese. Japan Airlines set up an office in Hong Kong in 1954, and the first flight from Japan arrived in Hong Kong in February 1955⁷²⁸. However, at this early stage, as overseas travelling for the Japanese was still restricted, it took some time for tourism between the two regions to become more prominent. Nonetheless, the Tokyo-Taipei-Hong Kong service became daily in 1959, while Cathay Pacific Airways opened the Tokyo-Hong Kong flight in the same year⁷²⁹. These later became the foundations of the development of tourism between Hong Kong and Japan.

With this background, the number of Hong Kong tourists to Japan gradually increased. Although no exact figures before 1972 are available as there were no clear details regarding Chinese visitors before normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations, it is estimated from the figure of 1972 that they would not have been large. More visitors entered Japan from the mid-1970s (Figure 8.6).

⁷²⁶ Japan National Tourism Organization (2011) p.208

⁷²⁷ Japan National Tourism Organization website: <http://www.jnto.go.jp/eng/about/index.html> accessed on 29 May 2011

⁷²⁸ Chen & Yang (2004) p.268

⁷²⁹ Ibid. p.275

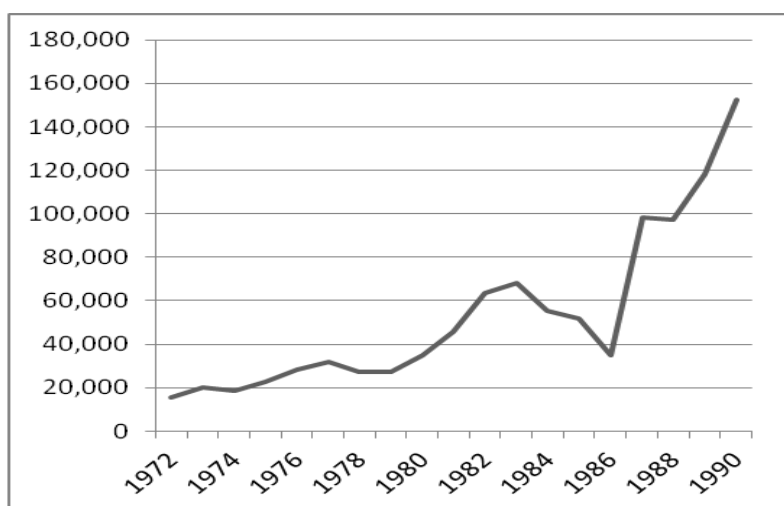


Figure 8.6: Number of Hong Kong visitors to Japan. (Data from Japan National Tourism Organization (2011) p.208. *Data from 1987 include the British National Overseas passport holders)

The number of travellers to Japan was affected by some external factors. For instance, the decrease from 1978 is considered to be caused by the strong Japanese yen. The exchange rate of Japanese yen against the U.S. dollar was 307 yen in 1975, but it rose to 200 yen in 1978⁷³⁰. Another sudden decline in the number of Hong Kong visitors from 1984 was largely due to uncertainty about the future of Hong Kong caused by the Sino-British Joint Declaration. Nonetheless, on the whole, the number of Hong Kong tourists to Japan showed a general trend of increase.

In the 1970s and the 1980s, further development had been observed in terms of the tourism between Hong Kong and Japan. For example, new routings such as Japan Airlines' Kagoshima-Hong Kong route and Nagoya-Hong Kong route in 1977, Nagoya-Fukuoka-Okinawa-Hong Kong-Singapore route in 1980, Cathay Pacific Airways' Nagoya-Hong Kong route in 1986, or All Nippon Airways' Narita-Hong Kong route in 1987 were regularized⁷³¹. The economic development of Hong Kong also enabled Hong Kong people to enjoy overseas travel more easily. Thanks to these developments, even if there were some fluctuations over the period, it is obvious that Japan had become a popular

⁷³⁰ Japan National Tourism Organization (2011)

⁷³¹ Ibid.

destination for Hong Kong tourists. Japan received over a million foreign visitors for the first time in 1977, out of which about 32,000 were from Hong Kong⁷³². In 1990, when Japan welcomed over three million foreign visitors, over 150,000 among them were from Hong Kong⁷³³.

Thus, the physical distance between the two regions appeared to shrink for Hong Kong people. The easier accessibility to Japan for Hong Kong people not only kept them connected but also raised the extent of Japanese presence in their daily lives.

The above has discussed the process in which the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong society became more recognizable from the 1960s. The mid-1970s was the first turning point. During that time, there were several noticeable phenomena: a significant increase in the number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong, increasing import of Japanese household appliances into the colony, the opening of several Japanese department stores frequent broadcasting of Japanese TV programmes on the local stations, and an increase in the number of Hong Kong visitors to Japan in the mid-1970s. All these made Japanese presence stronger and more visible in Hong Kong or in its residents' minds.

The following decade, the 1980s, was a period of gradual expansion of the Japanese presence in Hong Kong. There was no sudden increase in the number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong, but the Japanese community grew at a steady pace (see Figure 8.2). With the growth of Japanese community, the number of Japanese department stores and general merchandise stores also expanded. As discussed above, Hong Kong people also entered and developed the Japanese restaurant sector. On television, Japanese programmes, especially children programmes, continued to be popular. Besides Japanese TV programmes, Japanese popular songs came to be known to Hong Kong people. At first, they appeared as cover versions sung by Hong Kong singers in Cantonese, but later Japanese original songs arrived in Hong Kong as well with the increasing popularity of

⁷³² Ibid.

⁷³³ Ibid.

Japanese singers. There was a general trend of increase in the number of Hong Kong visitors to Japan although there was a decline in the mid-1980s caused by the Sino-British Joint Declaration. However, the trend of increase resumed afterwards and the number of Hong Kong visitors to Japan exceeded 100,000 people by the end of the 1980s (see Figure 8.6).

Japan's presence thus gained significance during the Period of Growth of Demand. What made this development possible was the economic growth of Hong Kong and Japan during the period. Hong Kong-Japanese economic relations played a significant role in boosting the economies of the two regions. As the presence of Japanese was strengthened, it was realized that the Japanese language skills would provide job opportunities. It is considered that the growth in Japanese language education owed much to this background.

As was mentioned earlier, the arrival of Japanese companies started as early as the mid-1950s. However, it was still limited to large organizations like trading corporations, banks or shipping companies at the very beginning. Then in the 1960s, when Japan was experiencing rapid growth in its economy, a number of Japanese companies entered Hong Kong to expand their business. The manufacturing of small household appliances was the major business these Japanese companies were engaged in⁷³⁴.

The 1970s saw an increase in the number of Japanese companies that entered Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Japanese Chambers of Commerce and Industry was established in 1969 by becoming independent from the economy section of the Hong Kong Japanese Club⁷³⁵. It had 99 companies registered at that time⁷³⁶. The number increased by nearly three times in the first 10 years and five times in 20 years (Figure 8.7). This increase had a significant impact on the Japanese presence in Hong Kong.

⁷³⁴ Yamazaki (1999)

⁷³⁵ The Hong Kong Japanese Chambers and Commerce and Industry (1989) p.44

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

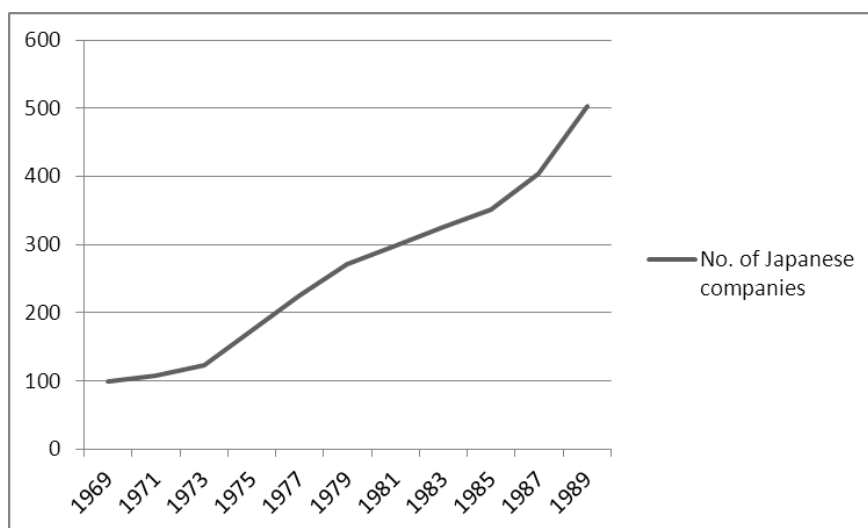


Figure 8.7: Number of companies registered at the Hong Kong Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry. (Data from the Hong Kong Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1989) p.44)

Again, the increase since the mid-1970s is prominent. This also shows that the 1970s was the turning point for the Japanese presence to become more visible in Hong Kong in various ways.

The increase in the number of Japanese companies resulted in a pragmatic motivation for Hong Kong people to study Japanese. As was mentioned above, when the Japanese Language Proficiency Test was first implemented in 1984, the Hong Kong examinees accounted for 15 per cent of the total examinees in the world, with about 1,000 examinees⁷³⁷. As the number of Japanese learners was about 4,000 and 7,800 in 1980 and in 1985 respectively⁷³⁸, it is estimated that there were around 7,000 learners in 1984. This means a very high percentage of application rates among the learners. This has been pointed out as one of the characteristics of Hong Kong learners⁷³⁹. It implies that many Hong Kong learners of Japanese saw a value to obtaining the qualification. The increase of Japanese companies in the colony naturally meant more job opportunities. However, it is natural that Japanese language proficiency would be an advantage, if not a prerequisite, for

⁷³⁷ Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong Website: <http://www.japanese-edu.org.hk> accessed on 13 October 2011

⁷³⁸ The Japan Foundation (1987)

⁷³⁹ Weekly Hong Kong, 15 July 2004

securing a job in a Japanese company. At least, this would be people's perception. Therefore, people would consider the learning of Japanese as helpful for job-seeking.

Hong Kong's economic growth during the 1970s was driven by investments from the United States and Japan in the manufacturing of plastic products, transistor, watches, jeans, etc⁷⁴⁰. Hong Kong, however, lacked raw materials for those products and had to rely heavily on imports of materials and parts from Japan⁷⁴¹. Hong Kong saw rapid economic growth as a result of the exports of these products, especially watches, for which Hong Kong was ranked first in the world⁷⁴².

As a matter of fact, Japan was playing an important role in Hong Kong's external trade from an early stage. Hong Kong's import and re-export business especially relied much on Japan. Even at the beginning of the 1960s, about 16 per cent of Hong Kong's imports were from Japan, while about 12 per cent of re-exports were to Japan⁷⁴³. In 1960, a total value of \$942 million (in Hong Kong currency) of import goods came from Japan, which made Japan the second largest supplier after China⁷⁴⁴. Manufactured products contributed to over a half of the total value of imports from Japan⁷⁴⁵. Japan alone occupied over 25 per cent of the total share of the import of manufactured products into Hong Kong⁷⁴⁶. Although the share of Hong Kong's exports for Japan was not as large as that of imports, Japan took the largest share among Hong Kong's re-export destinations. About 13 per cent of re-export goods (in terms of value) were sent to Japan in 1960⁷⁴⁷.

⁷⁴⁰ Honkon Nihonjin Kurabu (2006) p.54

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

⁷⁴² Ibid.

⁷⁴³ Census and Statistics Department (1969)

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

(HK\$ million)

	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
Total import	3,719	5,864	8,965	17,607	33,472	111,651	231,420	642,530
From Japan	526	942	1,551	4,188	6,991	25,644	53,350	103,362
Percentage	14.1%	16.1%	17.3%	23.8%	20.1%	23.0%	23.1%	16.1%

Table 8.2: Hong Kong's total imports and that from Japan. (Data from *Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967*, *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1978*, 1988 and 1991 editions, Census and Statistics Department)

As is indicated in Table 8.2, Hong Kong's imports from Japan (in terms of value) showed a further expansion during the 1970s. Until 1967, Hong Kong's largest import supplier had been China, but from 1968 onwards Japan took the position as the largest supplier until 1982, after which China regained the first position⁷⁴⁸. Since the 1980s, there has been a tremendous development of China to become Hong Kong's trade partner. As a result, Japan's share in Hong Kong's total imports gradually decreased but, as shown in Table 8.2, the total value of import from Japan continued to rise. Japan maintained its position as the second largest import supplier after China.

In contrast, Japan did not play a leading role in Hong Kong's export market. The exports from Hong Kong were dominated by clothing, followed by textile fabrics, plastic toys and dolls, and transistorized radios⁷⁴⁹. These goods were mainly exported to U.S.A., U.K., and the Federal Republic of Germany, while China had also become a major export destination since the 1980s⁷⁵⁰. However, although Japan's share was small, the total value of export goods to Japan had shown a continual dramatic increase since the 1970s (see Table 8.3).

⁷⁴⁸ Census and Statistics Department (1969), *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1978 and 1988 editions*

⁷⁴⁹ *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1978 edition*

⁷⁵⁰ *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1988 edition*

(HK\$ million)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
To all countries	2,867	5,027	12,347	22,859	68,171	129,882	225,875
To Japan	101	133	492	956	2,329	4,480	12,079
Percentage	3.5%	2.6%	4.0%	4.2%	3.4%	3.5%	5.3%

Table 8.3: Hong Kong's exports to Japan and all countries. (Data from *Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967*, *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1978, 1988 and 1991* editions, Census and Statistics Department)

In terms of trade, re-export was also an integral part of Hong Kong's external trade. This is because Hong Kong functioned as an *entrepôt*.

(HK\$ million)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
All countries	1,070	1,503	2,892	6,973	30,072	105,270	413,999
Japan	130	255	584	964	2,201	5,486	24,376
Percentage	12.1%	17.0%	20.2%	13.8%	7.3%	5.2%	5.9%

Table 8.4: Hong Kong's re-exports to and from Japan and all countries. (Data from *Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967*, *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1978, 1988 and 1991* editions, Census and Statistics Department)

In the re-export market, Japan was the biggest partner for Hong Kong during the 1970s⁷⁵¹. Medical and pharmaceutical products and diamonds were the major items re-exported to Japan at that time⁷⁵². However, Japan's share declined from 1980, as re-exports to China and U.S.A. exceeded those to Japan⁷⁵³. Nonetheless, as shown in Table 8.4, the total value of Hong Kong's re-export to Japan continued to increase. The decrease in its share among Hong Kong's total re-export was clearly a result of the fast growth of the colony's re-exports to other counties such as China and U.S.A.

The above discussion shows that Japan was one of Hong Kong's important trading partners. The increase in the total value of trade contributed to the rapid growth of the Hong Kong economy from the 1970s.

⁷⁵¹ Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1978 edition

⁷⁵² Ibid.

⁷⁵³ Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1988 edition

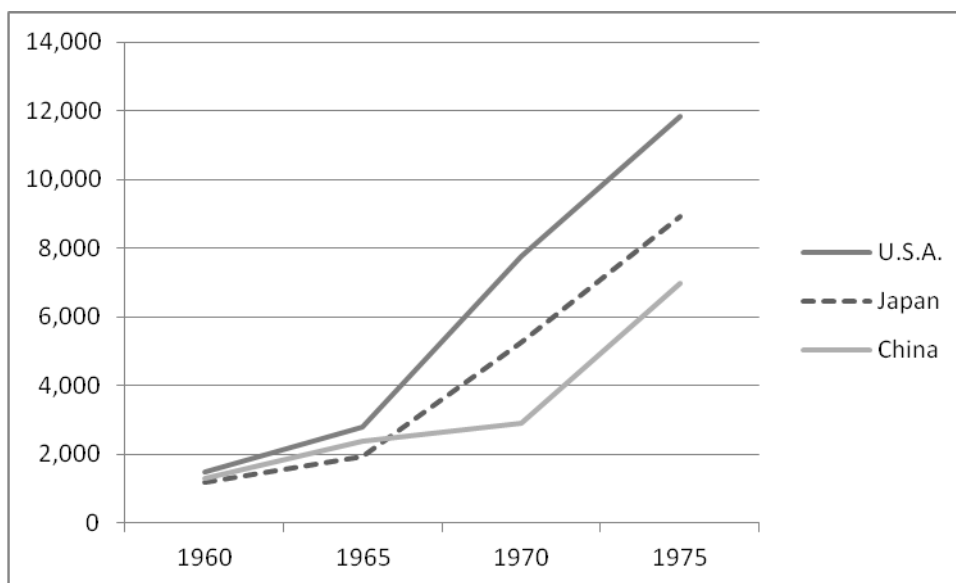


Figure 8.8: Hong Kong's total trade with top three countries (Japan, China and U.S.A.) from 1960 to 1975 (HK\$ million) (Data from *Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967*, *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1978 edition*, Census and Statistics Department)

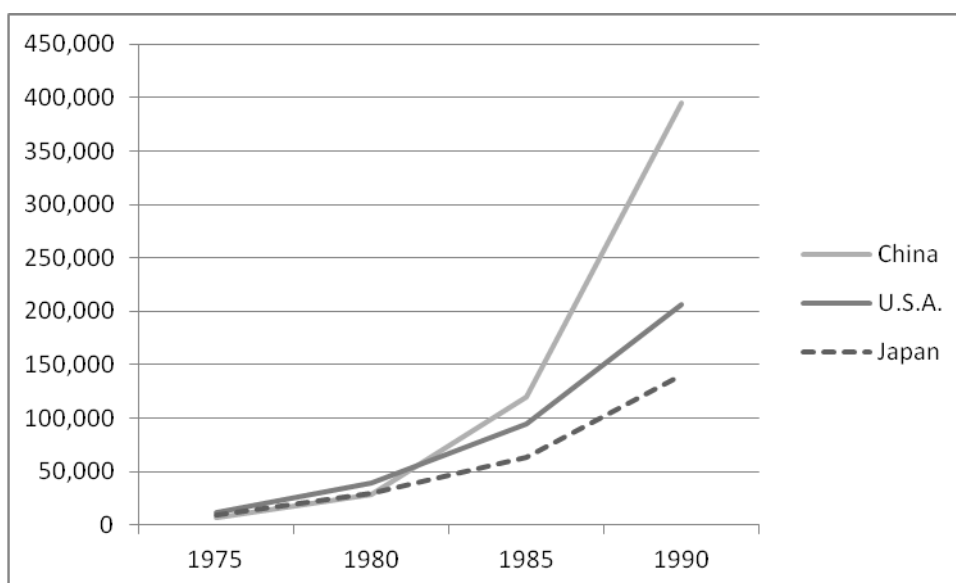


Figure 8.9: Hong Kong's total trade with top three countries (Japan, China and U.S.A.) from 1975 to 1990 (HK\$ million) (Data from *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1978*, *1988* and *1991 editions*, Census and Statistics Department)

As is obvious from Figure 8.8, Hong Kong-Japanese trade grew at an extraordinary pace in the 1970s, which pushed up Japan's position to second after U.S.A., although China's incredibly fast growth since the mid-1980s had not allowed any other countries to over

take its position once it became the largest trade partner of Hong Kong (Figure 8.9). The growth of trade with China was largely due to the Sino-British Joint Declaration as well as China's economic reform and development, which made people think of it as the biggest business opportunity. Although there was uncertainty among Hong Kong people regarding the future of Hong Kong, they turned their sense of uncertainty into motivation for finding new business opportunities in and with China. Japan's growth in external trade with Hong Kong was therefore not as large as that of China, but even in the 1980s it doubled every five years.

Hong Kong's gross domestic product (GDP) too shows continuous growth from the 1960s to 1980s (see Figure 8.10). During the 1970s, it grew constantly at a rate of about 15 to 30 per cent, except for a slowdown in the period of 1974-1975, when the world economy suffered seriously after the 1973 oil crisis (Figure 8.10). There was a quick recovery afterwards. There was another slowdown in 1985, just after the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. However, although there were slowdowns as aforesaid, Hong Kong never had a negative GDP growth from the 1960s to 1980s. This well-performing economy brought Hong Kong people confidence. At the same time, there was improvement in the life of Hong Kong people during this period. Gradually, there appeared some room in their mind to spend time and money on self-improvement.

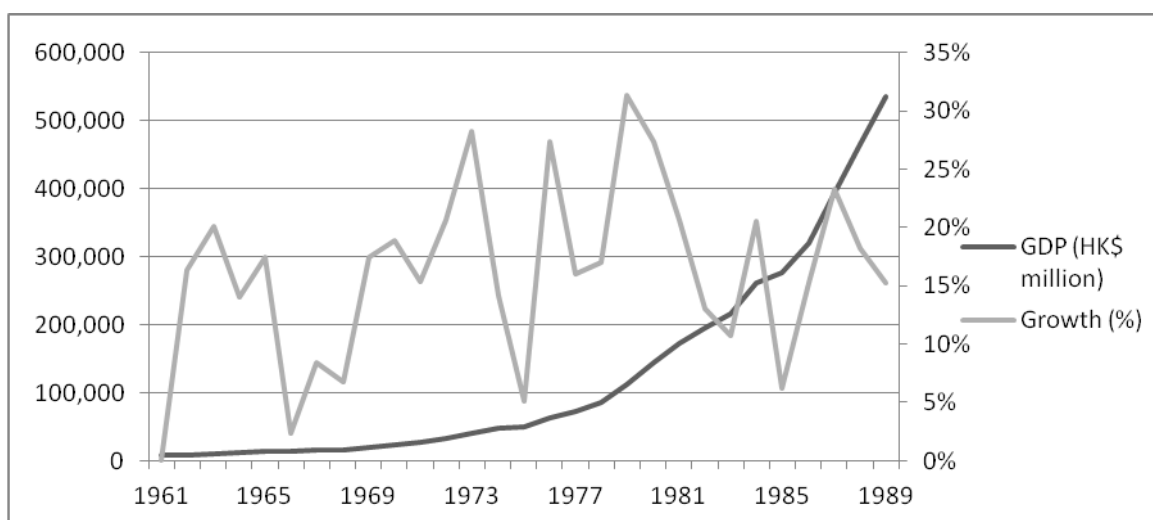


Figure 8.10: Hong Kong's GDP and annual growth rate from 1961 to 1989. (Data from Census and Statistics Department)

As discussed in Chapter 7, the Period of Growth of Demand could be divided into two sub-periods according to the stage of the development of Japanese studies. The 1960s was defined as the emergence of Japanese studies, while the 1970s and the 1980s were regarded as a period with the growth of Japanese studies. Analysis of the background of Hong Kong during those two sub-periods shows that there was correlation between the development of Japanese studies and Hong Kong's situation and people's mentality in the periods concerned.

In the early 1960s, it was still rare to see Japanese courses offered in Hong Kong. Only a few courses were available from institutions including Daiichi Japanese Language School and the Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong. These courses were mainly taken by people as interest classes and did not attract many Hong Kong learners at that early stage. The presence of Japanese in the early 1960s was still limited, as the number of Japanese residents was small and most of them were expatriates of large Japanese corporations which had set up offices with the recommencement of visa issuance from 1954. Because of the small number of Japanese residents, the Japanese community in Hong Kong was hardly recognized at that time. Daimaru was the only Japanese department store, and only a handful of expensive Japanese restaurants were open for business. These were too costly

for ordinary Hong Kong people. In such a situation, Hong Kong people showed little interest in Japanese studies.

A gradual change occurred from the mid-1960s. The Department of Extra-mural Studies of the University of Hong Kong started a Japanese language course in 1965, while the Japanese section under the Department of Chinese and Oriental Languages at the Chinese University of Hong Kong commenced a Japanese course in 1967. It was followed by a Japanese course under the Japan Information & Cultural Centre of the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong in 1968. It was also during this period that Adult and Higher Education Services of Caritas Hong Kong began a Japanese course.

The emergence of these Japanese language courses at various institutions corresponded with the emergence of a Japanese presence, albeit still limited, in Hong Kong society in different aspects. Overseas travelling for the Japanese was liberalized in 1964, while the Hong Kong Tourist Association set up an office in Tokyo in the same year, and Hong Kong started to welcome Japanese tourists although the number was still small. The Hong Kong Japanese School was established in 1965 with only 90 students registered. When the Hong Kong Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry was founded in 1969, only 99 companies were registered.

What characterized the latter half of the 1960s was the fact that the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong was still relatively weak even though it was showing a gradual increase as compared to the situation in the early 1960s. In addition, Hong Kong society itself was experiencing a tough time, as illustrated by the 1967 riot. As a result, for example, Hong Kong's GDP slowed down during this period (see Figure 8.10). Japanese studies emerged in the mid-1960s, but the situation in and surrounding Hong Kong prevented substantial growth. At that time, the educational opportunities for Hong Kong people were still relatively low. In addition, the presence of Japanese was weak. In such circumstances, Japanese was not the first priority. People's insecure feeling was still strong

as the economy of Hong Kong was only in the process of improvement. When insecurity was felt strongly, pragmatic value was considered important. Since there was no pragmatic motivation for learning Japanese, demand was low. Yet, the foundation of Japanese studies in Hong Kong was laid especially in the latter half of the 1960s, providing a base for the expansion from the 1970s.

The 1970s played a significant role in the development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. In 1972, the Japanese section of the Chinese University of Hong Kong acquired independent status. In 1973, a Japanese course began at the Department of Extra-mural Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. With the introduction of compulsory primary school education in 1971, it was the time when the educational opportunities for local people began to grow. It was also the early 1970s when the number of Japanese visitors increased dramatically. A yearly increase of over 30 per cent was recorded during this period (see Figure 8.5 above). Since its opening a decade earlier, Daimaru had been the only Japanese department store in Hong Kong, but the opening of Isetan in 1973 drew attention from the Japanese retail sector, and became a milestone in the advancement of Japanese retail business to the region. Several Japanese restaurants were also attracted to Hong Kong in this period.

Thus, even though Japanese studies were not offered on a large-scale in the early 1970s, changes started to occur. The existence of Japanese became more visible in the daily life of Hong Kong people. At the same time, pragmatic motivations to study Japanese emerged due to the increasing importance of trade with Japan. Moreover, people started to enjoy a better living standard due to the economic growth of this period. Hong Kong's per capita GDP increased from 5,835 Hong Kong dollars in 1970 to 11,110 dollars in 1975, which means that it had nearly doubled in five years⁷⁵⁴. With the improvements in daily life, some Hong Kong people might become able to pursue personal interests or to acquire

⁷⁵⁴ Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 2009 edition

skills required to upgrade themselves. This contributed to the growth of Japanese studies in the early 1970s.

Since the mid-1970s, there had been rapid expansion of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. In 1976, the Hong Kong Polytechnic started to offer a Japanese language course in its Higher Diploma in Trilingual Secretarial Studies programme as one of the optional languages. It was followed by the commencement of a one-year certificate programme in Japanese. Both courses were well-received and the certificate programme was upgraded to a two-year full-time Diploma programme in Japanese. In this manner, the first Japanese-major programme in tertiary education started. The fact that the Royal Hong Kong Police had specifically arranged for officers to enrol in the course was an indication of a demand for Japanese studies. The University of Hong Kong also offered its university students a Japanese course under the Language Centre in 1978. Meanwhile, the Japanese language course affiliated to the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong experienced the largest number of applications in the mid-1970s. The significant growth of Japanese studies was also evidenced by, for example, the commencement of the Japanese Language Speech Contest in 1975, and the establishment of the Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong in 1978. A number of contestants competed at the Speech Contest, which proves the popularity of Japanese learning, while the cooperation and exchange of Japanese educators from different institutions through the activities of the Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong gives a clear picture of the growth of Japanese studies. The popularity of a radio programme for Japanese learning produced by the Department of Extra-mural Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong was an indication that there was a potentially large market for Japanese studies by then.

Again, several factors supported the rapid and substantial expansion of Japanese studies since the mid-1970s. The number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong continued to grow, and more and more Japanese companies entered Hong Kong to set up their offices.

The number of Japanese companies registered with the Hong Kong Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry increased nearly three times in a decade from 1970. Consequently the Japanese community in Hong Kong grew at a fast pace. Hong Kong was also welcoming an increasing number of Japanese tourists during this period. At the same time, the number of Hong Kong tourists visiting Japan showed a dramatic increase in the mid-1970s. All these made the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong increasingly felt by Hong Kong people.

Television broadcasts also contributed to raising awareness of Japanese since Hong Kong's broadcasting relied heavily on programmes created in Japan. It also contributed to the penetration of Japanese culture and customs in Hong Kong society. By 1975, nearly 90 per cent of households possessed a television set, which means that television viewing was already an integral part of people's life-styles. As Hong Kong TV stations at that time had a limited ability to produce their own programmes, they tended to rely on foreign-made programmes including those from Japan, especially children programmes. Through television viewing, people acquired knowledge of various aspects of Japanese society. Interest in learning more about Japan gradually grew among some people. With the spread of television viewing, a number of Japanese popular songs came to Hong Kong too, mainly as cover songs in Cantonese. Japanese popular culture thus became known to more Hong Kong people in the 1970s.

Continued expansion in Japanese studies was observed in the 1980s as well. The Department of Japanese Studies of the University of Hong Kong was established as the first Japanese-major department in Hong Kong in 1985. Around that time, Daiichi Japanese Language School had the largest number of students totalling about 1,700. At the Hong Kong Polytechnic, the popularity of the Diploma in Japanese programme never decreased and the admissions quota of 21 new students doubled to 42 in 1987. City Polytechnic of Hong Kong followed the trend and started to offer a Japanese course on its Professional

Diploma in International Business programme in 1988. As City Polytechnic itself was then still a new tertiary institution, it means that Japanese was offered from the earliest stage of the institution.

The Japanese Language Proficiency Test started in 1984, and Hong Kong was a testing centre from the first test. The mid-1980s is therefore considered as the beginning of a comparatively widespread Japanese language education in Hong Kong. The latter also functioned as one of the core members in the field in the world, as evidenced by the fact that it was one of the first Japanese Language Proficiency Test centres and the proportion that Hong Kong examinees occupied among the total examinees in the world. Although the number of examinees itself was small at the beginning, Hong Kong's examinees accounted for 15 per cent of the total examinees in the world. This proves that Hong Kong had a high demand for Japanese studies by then.

During the 1980s, the Japanese community in Hong Kong continued to grow. After the success of Daimaru, Matsuzakaya and Isetan in the 1970s, Mitsukoshi, Tokyu and Sogo opened their first stores from the early 1980s to the mid-1980s, while Matsuzakaya and Daimaru opened their second ones in the early 1980s and Isetan and Mitsukoshi followed in the late 1980s. The opening of Yaohan in 1984 influenced the management style of Hong Kong's retail sector and attracted other Japanese general merchandise stores such as Uny and Jusco to the Hong Kong market. The Japanese retail sector by then filled an important position in Hong Kong's retail business.

Not only the number of Japanese companies or Japanese residents in Hong Kong, but also the number of Japanese tourists coming to the region continued to increase in the 1980s. The latter maintained an annual increase of 20 per cent during the period and exceeded one million visitors per annum by the late 1980s. Around that time, there were over 10,000 Japanese residents in Hong Kong. Japanese products came to be seen very commonly in the daily life of Hong Kong, and local people started to listen to original

Japanese popular songs, not just the cover versions. All in all, the presence of Japanese in the society of Hong Kong had become increasingly prominent since the 1980s.

The number of Hong Kong tourists to Japan also showed an increase especially at the beginning of the 1980s, when an annual increase of nearly 30 per cent was recorded. Although it turned to negative figures during the mid-1980s, Japan had already become a major tourist destination. Obviously this increase would not have happened without the fast economic growth of Hong Kong and the improvement in people's income. In any case, an increase in the number of tourists shows an increase in people's interest in Japan. The decline in the mid-1980s was due to the conclusion of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. GDP growth slowed down. Although the figure did not become negative, people started worrying about Hong Kong's future after the handover of sovereignty to China in 1997. As a result, the number of Hong Kong people who visited Japan suddenly dropped from 1984. Nevertheless, the Japanese studies sector was not much affected by the economic downturn. New courses in Japanese were still being launched at various institutions, while some attracted the biggest number of applicants from or in the mid-1980s.

Different aspects of Hong Kong mentality played a role in the development of Japanese studies at that time. Hong Kong people were historically sensitive to the unstable or insecure situations surrounding them. It is therefore natural to expect that the uncertainty about Hong Kong's future would negatively impact the development of Japanese studies. Yet, there was no sudden decline in the number of Japanese courses or Japanese learners. One possible explanation for this is that people's pragmatic mentality overcame the insecure feeling. Such pragmatic feelings were attributable to the growing presence of Japanese. Compared with the 1960s, there were many more Japanese companies stationed in Hong Kong in the 1980s. In other words, there were more job opportunities in Japanese companies. As discussed above, be it a fact or just people's perception, Japanese language

proficiency was regarded as an advantage in securing jobs in Japanese companies. In addition, by that time, Japanese products had become more prominent in the daily lives of Hong Kong people and the presence of Japanese became increasingly felt by Hong Kong people. The growth of the Hong Kong economy brought a further improvement in people's income and living conditions. This enabled people to study courses according to their interest. There was less hesitation in pursuing personal interests than in the 1960s. At the same time, due to the strong economy of Japan at that time and the economic-relations between the two places, Japanese language skills could be useful for people's careers.

To summarize, the above has analysed the emergence of Japanese studies in Hong Kong in the 1960s against the situation of Hong Kong and the presence of Japanese at that time. As the Japanese presence in Hong Kong gradually became visible, some Japanese courses began. However, the growth was slow because Hong Kong people were still living with insecurity, the educational opportunities for Hong Kong people were still relatively low, and the presence of Japanese was still weak. At that time, people's insecure feeling was still strong as the economy of Hong Kong was only in the process of improvement. When insecurity was felt strongly, pragmatic value was considered important. At the same time, as the presence of Japan was still weak, there was no pragmatic motivation for learning Japanese. Therefore, demand was low. Nonetheless, the 1960s was an important period for Japanese studies in Hong Kong in that firm foundations were laid for further expansion.

The two decades from 1970 saw a significant development in Japanese studies. Demand for them grew in this period with Hong Kong's well-performing economy and the advancement of Japan into Hong Kong in various aspects. With the rapid growth in Hong Kong's economy, living standards improved and the educational opportunities were widened. This not only weakened people's sense of insecurity, but also affected their

pragmatism. As the Hong Kong-Japanese economic relations became stronger, Japanese-speaking personnel were demanded. Japanese learning was thus associated with people's pragmatism. A number of Japanese courses were established and the number of Japanese learners increased dramatically. There was an economic downturn in the mid-1980s caused by people's concerns about the future of Hong Kong, but the demand for Japanese studies remained high. A striking difference between the economic slowdown in the 1960s and that of the mid-1980s was that there was a strong pragmatic motivation behind the demand in the mid-1980s. A number of Japanese companies had set up offices in Hong Kong and Japan had an important position in Hong Kong's external trade. As discussed, there was pragmatic value in learning Japanese. This is also reinforced by the already prominent presence of Japanese in Hong Kong society. Characteristics of Japanese life-style had become widely accepted in Hong Kong, especially the food culture and popular culture. With these as the background, the demand for Japanese studies was not weakened even when people experienced a degree of insecurity.

The Period of Growth of Demand covered the emergence and expansion of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. It was found that the development of Japanese studies had a correlation with Hong Kong's economic growth and the increase in the presence of Japan in Hong Kong society. Insecurity, as a key aspect of the Hong Kong mentality had a close connection with the appearance of Japanese studies in the 1960s. Such insecure feelings were weakened by the strong economic growth from the 1970s. This economic growth also affected the Hong Kong mentality of pragmatism, which played a significant role in the rapid expansion of Japanese studies.

Part IV below will analyse the Period of Expansion of Demand: the development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong (especially the diversification in the demand for Japanese studies since the 1990s), the background of such development, and the effect of

the Hong Kong mentality on it.

PART IV: PERIOD OF EXPANSION OF DEMAND

Part IV deals with the current development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong since the 1990s. It was described in the previous chapters that Japanese studies in Hong Kong emerged in the 1960s and grew rapidly from the 1970s to the 1980s. What type of development Japanese studies went through since the 1990s will be described in the first section (Chapter 9). Then the second section (Chapter 10) will attempt to analyze the background of the development of Japanese studies and the effect of the Hong Kong mentality on their development.

Chapter 9 New Developments in Japanese Studies

The emergence and rapid growth of Japanese studies from the 1960s to the 1980s made Hong Kong one of the most active regions in Japanese studies in the world. Further development continued to be observed after 1990 too. As was observed earlier, what characterized Hong Kong's Japanese studies in the Period of Growth of Demand was the fact that most Hong Kong learners of Japanese were adult, and that Japanese studies in most cases meant Japanese language learning. The backdrop to these characteristics was the fact that Japanese presence in Hong Kong was getting stronger with the fast economic development of Japan.

Since the 1990s, while this trend in Japanese language education has continued showing increases in the number of courses available and the number of Japanese learners at the same time, new movements have appeared as will be described in this chapter.

A brief look at Figure 9.1 reveals the characteristics of learners of Japanese since 1990. With the emergence of different types of demand for Japanese studies in Hong Kong, not only has the number increased, but also the age groups of learners have widened. It

should be noted that the number decreased in the latest survey. Although the decrease in the 2009 figures has been analysed as the lower response rate from the relevant institutions⁷⁵⁵, it needs further investigation in future surveys.

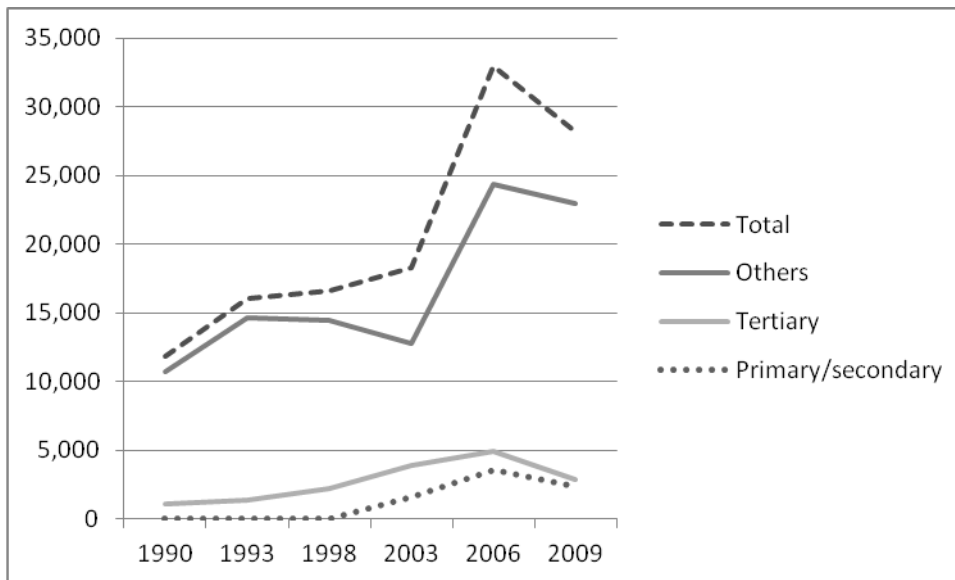


Figure 9.1: Number of learners of Japanese in Hong Kong at primary/secondary schools, tertiary institutions and others. (Data from the Japan Foundation (1992), (1995), (2000), (2004), (2008) and (2011))

These figures do not include persons who are learning Japanese on their own or through private tutoring. It is therefore estimated that these figures are lower than the actuality.

Certain facts have become clear from the data. First of all, generally speaking, as is obvious from the total number of learners, Hong Kong's Japanese language education field has expanded since the 1990s. The growth during the decade from 1993 was relatively slow, but the pace accelerated from 2003. Secondly, a rapid growth in Japanese learning at the primary and secondary education level has been observed in the 2000s. Considering it was zero until the end of the twentieth century, the growth in this category is prominent. As Hong Kong's Japanese studies had been the domain of adult learners, the emergence of younger learners had a great impact on the development of Japanese studies

⁷⁵⁵ The Japan Foundation (2011)

in the region. In addition, learners at the tertiary institutions have increased with a similar curve to those at the primary and secondary schools. This proves the further expansion of Japanese studies at the tertiary level from the late-1990s, which will be further described below.

A similar phenomenon can also be observed from the number of examinees of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test. It was regarded as one of the characteristics of Hong Kong learners that they had had high preference for obtaining qualifications such as the Japanese Language Proficiency Test⁷⁵⁶. For instance, the figure based on the number of learners in the Japan Foundation survey for 2003, showed about 35 per cent of the learners had taken the Test⁷⁵⁷. As far as the number of examinees is concerned, a drastic increase has been recorded.

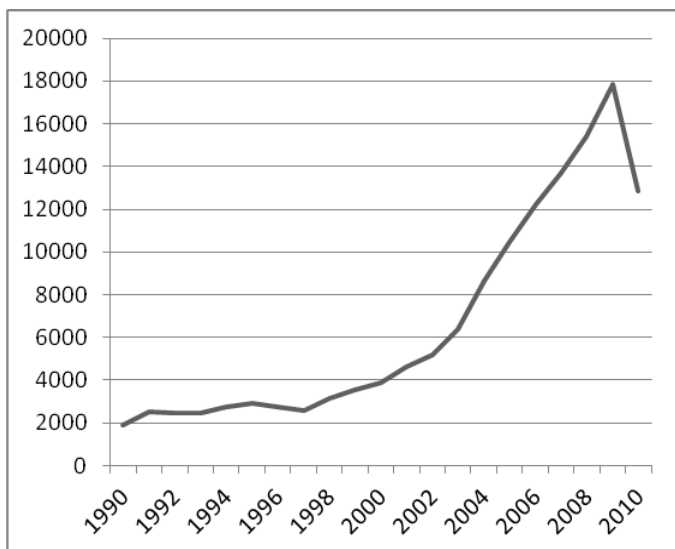


Figure 9.2: Number of examinees of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test in Hong Kong. (Data from Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong Website: <http://www.japanese-edu.org.hk> accessed on 8 July 2011. The figure in 2010 is the total of July and December tests under the new system)

The figures in 1994, 1996 and 1997 showed a decrease compared with previous years, but apart from these three years, the number continued to show an increase until it suddenly

⁷⁵⁶ Weekly Hong Kong, 15 July 2004

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.

dropped in 2010. The increase since 2000 has been especially tremendous, much more dramatic than that in the 1990s, which is likely to be the effect of the emergence of new demand for Japanese studies from young people. However, the fall in 2010 needs some attention as it is not yet clear whether it is temporary drop or it will further decrease.

From the data above, Hong Kong's Japanese studies since the 1990s can be generalized as stable growth in the 1990s with rapid expansion in the 2000s. It is inferred that the demand for Japanese studies grew steadily in the 1990s while different types of demand have emerged in the twenty first century, causing the rapid expansion. What contributed to the expansion will be described below.

Courses and programmes on Japanese studies at the tertiary institutions implemented during the Period of Growth of Demand were described previously. While they continued to offer various courses, new development has also been observed.

Since its establishment in 1985, the Department of Japanese Studies at the University of Hong Kong had been making an effort to strengthen the curriculum of Japanese language courses and to integrate Japan-related courses offered at different departments into the programme. As a result, in 1990, the Department of Japanese Studies implemented a programme in which a variety of Japan-related courses, such as Japanese society, linguistics, literature, economy or Sino-Japanese relations, were offered⁷⁵⁸. About 100 Year 1 students took Japanese language courses, of which 70-80 further took the Japan-related subjects in Years 2 and 3 at that time⁷⁵⁹. It was the first Japanese-studies programme in Hong Kong in a strict sense.

At the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Japanese Studies Section became an independent unit in 1972 to provide Japanese courses to undergraduate students. In 1991, the Japanese Studies Section was upgraded to the Department of Japanese Studies to

⁷⁵⁸ Hara (2000) p.30

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid.

provide a more integrated Japanese studies curriculum⁷⁶⁰. The Department's Japanese major programme implemented a unique curriculum. The intake number was limited to only around 30 each year, but all Year 2 students would spend their second year in Japan, at designated universities in various areas of Japan⁷⁶¹. This has enhanced not only students' Japanese language skills but also their understanding of Japanese society and culture. With its unique characteristics, the programme has maintained its popularity.

These two Departments of Japanese Studies have led Hong Kong's Japanese studies at the tertiary level. On the other hand, other tertiary institutions continued to develop and began new movements in Japanese studies. The Hong Kong Polytechnic, which had offered two very popular programmes, namely Diploma in Japanese and Higher Diploma in Trilingual Secretarial Studies since the mid-1970s, has provided degree-level programmes as well as diploma-level programmes since the early 1980s. More and more degree-level programmes came on stream later, and the two popular Japanese-related diploma programmes ceased to be offered and were replaced with a new programme, Bachelor of Arts in Languages with Business, in 1993⁷⁶². The programme consisted of business components and practical language training in either Japanese, French or German⁷⁶³. The intake number for the programme was about 60; 30 for Japanese and 15 each for French and German. Later in 1998, the programme was upgraded to an Honours programme as BA (Hons) in Languages with Business⁷⁶⁴.

The Hong Kong Polytechnic was conferred university status and renamed the Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 1994⁷⁶⁵. Even after the new establishment as a university, the programme nature generally continued to be practical. A unique feature of

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² Saito (1995b) p.22

⁷⁶³ Miyazoe-Wong (2002) p.7

⁷⁶⁴ Newsletter of Department of English, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, June 1998

⁷⁶⁵ The Hong Kong Polytechnic University website: <http://www.polyu.edu.hk> accessed on 11 June 2011

the BA in Languages with Business programme was its teaching pattern. For foreign language courses, the class size was set at 15 students for the teaching mode called seminars and at four students for tutorials. In the case of Japanese, for example, the seminar mode was used mainly for grammatical introduction and exercises, while the language laboratory mode was designed for listening practice and tutorial mode for oral tasks and exercises. The number of hours per week spent on foreign language courses was five for seminars, two for language laboratory and one for tutorial (for Year 3 students, three for seminars, two for language laboratory and two for tutorials)⁷⁶⁶. The staff-student ratio of 1 to 4 in tutorials provided students with great opportunities to speak and enabled them to be fluent Japanese speakers. The programme resembled the BA (Hons) in International Business of City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, which was implemented in 1990 to take supersede the previous Professional Diploma programme, in that the curriculum was a combination of foreign language and business components.

Another characteristic of the programme was the summer study tour it offered. Although it was not a compulsory activity, all Year 2 students joined the activity and spent three months in Japan⁷⁶⁷. During their stay in Japan, students attended a seminar at a Japanese university for two weeks, followed by a four-week work placement⁷⁶⁸. During the last four weeks, they stayed with their host families. The University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong also organized summer study tours, but these did not include a work placement. In addition, five to ten per cent of the students of the BA Languages with Business programme were given an opportunity to study in Japan for a whole academic year to enhance their Japanese competence⁷⁶⁹. Compared to the overseas attachment that was carried out at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, it was smaller in

⁷⁶⁶ Programme Scheme & Subject Syllabuses for Bachelor of Arts Degree with Honours in Languages with Business, 1998

⁷⁶⁷ Miyazoe-Wong (2002) p.5, South China Morning Post, 6 January 2000

⁷⁶⁸ Miyazoe-Wong (1999) pp.92-93

⁷⁶⁹ Miyazoe-Wong (2002) p.5

scale. Yet the programme's focus on combining language competence with an education in the organization, management and functioning of business in the international context of Hong Kong⁷⁷⁰ made the programme very popular.

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University also developed short-term Japanese for Specific Purposes courses. These courses were offered in response to requests from particular programmes. For example, a beginner-level Japanese reading course was commenced for students who were studying at the BA (Hons) in Design programme, and a beginner-level interaction course in Japanese was designed for students of the BSc (Hons) in Hotel Management programme⁷⁷¹. The syllabuses of the courses were made in accordance with the students' discipline. As these courses were specifically arranged for particular groups of students, they differed from Japanese elective courses offered at other institutions where students from different disciplines sat together. Although the duration of these courses was only one semester of 42 contact hours⁷⁷², this was one of the earliest attempts to implement Japanese for specific purposes courses in Hong Kong.

City Polytechnic of Hong Kong was also upgraded to a university in 1994 and renamed City University of Hong Kong. While the popularity of BA (Hons) in International Business (later changed to Bachelor of Business Administration (Hons) in International Business (Japan studies)) continued, a new three-year full-time Higher Diploma programme in Applied Japanese Studies was implemented in 1998 with 40 students under the Division of Language Studies at the University's College of Higher Vocational Studies⁷⁷³. The major characteristic of the Higher Diploma programme was its curriculum structure aiming at providing applied language skills as well as knowledge on Japan. The courses offered in the programme included, apart from general Japanese language courses, business Japanese, Japanese for tourism, trilingual translation and

⁷⁷⁰ South China Morning Post, 6 January 2000

⁷⁷¹ Miyazoe-Wong (2002) p.5

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Murakami (2003) p.218

interpretation, Japanese history, Japanese culture and Japanese current affairs⁷⁷⁴.

The Japanese-major programmes at the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong focused more on academic pursuit, while the Japanese-related degree programmes at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University and City University of Hong Kong spared half the curriculum on business courses, and consequently most Japanese courses had to be spent on basic language skills although they added some business Japanese elements. On the other hand, the Higher Diploma programme in Applied Japanese Studies at City University of Hong Kong made full use of its curriculum on different practical skills and knowledge.

Other tertiary institutions also started to offer Japanese courses in most cases as elective subjects in the 1990s. For example, the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, which was established in 1991 as Hong Kong's third university, began Japanese courses under the Language Centre from 1995⁷⁷⁵. Three beginner classes, one intermediate class and one reading class were offered at the very beginning, and about 150 students were enrolled in these courses⁷⁷⁶. A unique course there was a Japanese reading course aiming at providing skills for reading academic papers written in Japanese. This course was designed for postgraduate students in the Division of Humanities⁷⁷⁷. Without focusing on writing, speaking and listening skills, this Japanese for specific purposes course was a unique attempt to expand Japanese studies in Hong Kong to a new direction.

Lingnan College Hong Kong was set up in 1967 by a group of alumni from Lingnan University in Guangzhou, and was later upgraded and renamed Lingnan University in 1999⁷⁷⁸. Long before it acquired a university status, Lingnan College Hong Kong offered Japanese courses as early as 1991. Three Japanese courses, Beginners'

⁷⁷⁴ Higher Diploma in Applied Japanese Studies Programme Handbook 1998-99

⁷⁷⁵ Lee (1995) p.189

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ South China Morning Post, 19 November 1999

Japanese, Intermediate Japanese and Advanced Japanese, were offered by the Department of Translation⁷⁷⁹. However, since each course consisted only of three hours of instruction per week, it is considered that the Intermediate and Advanced courses were in fact at the beginner-level. More than a half of the total places of these courses were reserved for Translation students and, in the case of Beginners' Japanese, for students taking Asian and Pacific Affairs, although these Japanese courses were offered as elective courses⁷⁸⁰.

At Lingnan College, Japanese courses functioned mostly as a supplementary knowledge subject for translation students. Then having obtained university status, Lingnan University offered undergraduate programmes in Chinese, contemporary English studies, cultural studies, translation, business administration and social science⁷⁸¹. As the only liberal arts tertiary institution in Hong Kong, Lingnan University made general education, language proficiency and information literacy courses compulsory for all degree programmes⁷⁸². In order to fulfil this requirement, Japanese has been offered at a self-access centre⁷⁸³.

Hong Kong Baptist University began Japanese courses a little later than others. The Language Centre had been offering subjects in English, standard Chinese and Mandarin to undergraduate students. European languages, such as French, German and Spanish, had also been offered before Japanese, as they were needed for a degree programme majoring in European studies. Then, in the 2003 academic year, Japanese was for the first time adopted at the Language Centre⁷⁸⁴. Unlike the European languages that had been offered, because there were no programmes for Japanese or Japan-related disciplines, it can be considered that Japanese courses began from an authentic demand.

The field of Japanese studies at the tertiary institutions in Hong Kong expanded in

⁷⁷⁹ Lingnan College Hong Kong Prospectus 1991-92

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁸¹ South China Morning Post, 19 November 1999

⁷⁸² Ibid.

⁷⁸³ Lingnan University Prospectus 1999-2000

⁷⁸⁴ Hong Kong Baptist University Calendar/Bulletin 2003-2004

this way in the 1990s. The number of courses offered in them increased, which was the indication of great demand. In addition, there was another type of development observed during this period. Japanese-related postgraduate programmes started to be offered in Hong Kong. What characterized the early 1990s was the implementation of Japanese studies degree programmes. Japanese studies for the first time became a major subject at the degree level programme. It was also in the early 1990s that Japanese courses began to be offered as an elective subject at two tertiary institutions, which means that most tertiary institutions had started to teach Japanese by that time. This indicates that the demand for Japanese studies was well recognized by Hong Kong society in the early 1990s. It became a stepping stone to the further expansion in the 2000s.

Hong Kong's first Japanese-related programme at the postgraduate level commenced at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. In 2001, the Department of English implemented a Postgraduate Diploma programme in Japanese Studies for the Professions⁷⁸⁵. The programme aimed at providing a high level of Japanese language skills in professional contexts such as business, education or translation. The minimum entrance requirement was therefore set high, with the possession of the Level 2 of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test and at least one year's working experience⁷⁸⁶. Students were required to take four compulsory courses in contemporary Japanese society and culture, communicating with Japanese in multi-lingual workplaces, Japanese discourse and pragmatics and analysis of written Japanese⁷⁸⁷. Another two courses were elected out of six elective courses on Japanese business and management, Japanese business writing, Japanese language education, and translation in the multi-lingual workplace⁷⁸⁸. This Japanese for specific purposes programme, because of its specialized curriculum, attracted Hong Kong personnel who were engaged in related fields and were hoping to pursue a

⁷⁸⁵ Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong (2008a) p.23

⁷⁸⁶ Miyazoe-Wong (2002) p.5

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

higher degree which would enhance their knowledge and skills in Japanese in professional contexts.

Following the success in the postgraduate diploma programme, it was upgraded to a Master's Degree programme in Japanese Studies for the Professions in 2005, aiming at equipping students with an understanding of the concepts and skills of Japanese in professional contexts⁷⁸⁹. Although it was a master's degree programme, its main focus was placed more on practical work than academic work, which was inherited from the past Japanese programmes of the Hong Kong Polytechnic era. The programme consisted of four parts, categorized as the Japanese business communication method, culture and society, translation and interpretation skills, and news translation and teaching in Japan⁷⁹⁰. The practical nature was evidenced from the fact that most students were from Japanese corporations or were Japanese teachers⁷⁹¹. The students' working experience and related knowledge contributed to maintaining the programme's practicability.

Then, the Department of Japanese Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong also implemented a postgraduate programme in Japanese studies. In 2006, a Master's Degree programme in Japanese Language and Teaching was offered as either a one-year full-time or a two-year part-time programme⁷⁹². This programme was specifically designed for Japanese language teachers in the early stages of their careers, experienced teachers who wished to further their knowledge and strengthen their skills and persons without teaching experience intending to pursue a career in Japanese language teaching⁷⁹³. Unlike the MA in Japanese Studies for the Professions programme of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University which mainly aimed at providing practical knowledge and skills for the multi-lingual workplace, the MA in Japanese Language and Teaching programme focused

⁷⁸⁹ South China Morning Post, 15 August 2009

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ South China Morning Post, 21 April 2007

⁷⁹² Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong (2008a) p.22

⁷⁹³ Department of Japanese Studies website:

http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/jas/english/menu_eng.html accessed on 28 June 2011

on nurturing Japanese language educators. Accordingly, its curriculum included specialized knowledge and skills in the field such as Japanese linguistics, Japanese pedagogy, teaching Japanese as a second language, socio-linguistics, and Japanese language teaching practice⁷⁹⁴. Among them, Japanese teaching practice is a key feature of the programme. Students are assigned as teacher trainees for beginner-level Japanese classes arranged under the programme in order to learn how to teach effectively. It was the only programme to offer such teaching practice at the tertiary level.

A Master's Degree programme in Japanese Language and Culture offered through the School of Professional and Continuing Education of the University of Hong Kong (HKU SPACE) was a unique course. The degree was actually offered by Osaka University of Foreign Studies in partnership with HKU SPACE as the first-ever degree offered outside Japan by a Japanese university⁷⁹⁵. The two-year programme was launched in October 2006. One of the highlights of the programme was the programme operation. The programme was offered in Hong Kong but taught entirely by the teaching staff of Osaka University of Foreign Studies and led to a degree from the Japanese university⁷⁹⁶. As the programme was considered a qualification for teachers of Japanese as a foreign language, it proved that there was a need for qualified Japanese teachers. Obviously it was a new type of demand that had not occurred during the Period of Growth of Demand. Hong Kong's Japanese studies showed signs of entering a new phase at this time.

In 2000, the Education Commission submitted to the Hong Kong government 'the Reform Proposal for Education System in Hong Kong', in which numerous changes in educational system including the introduction of 6-3-3-4 school system were proposed. In the proposal, setting up community colleges was also suggested⁷⁹⁷. Along this line, most Higher Diploma programmes at the College of Higher Vocational Studies of City

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ South China Morning Post, 6 May 2006

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ The Education Commission (2000)

University of Hong Kong were shifted to two-year full-time Associate Degree programmes in 2000, aiming at providing opportunities for articulation into degree programmes. The HD in Applied Japanese Studies programme, two years after its establishment, was also re-structured as a two-year full-time Associate of Arts in Applied Japanese Studies programme in 2000. Although the programme duration was shortened by one year, the programme nature which placed a special emphasis on practical Japanese language skills and knowledge about Japan remained the same⁷⁹⁸.

As it was one of the major intentions of the educational reform to build a society of lifelong learners⁷⁹⁹, it was anticipated that the demand for Associate Degree programmes would rise. As a result, a number of self-financing programmes which would not be subsidized by the government started to be implemented at various sub-degree offering institutions. The Division of Language Studies at City University of Hong Kong implemented an Associate of Arts in Bilingual Communication Studies programme in 2002, in which students study a variety of English and Chinese courses. In 2003, another two options, English and Japanese, and Chinese and Japanese, were added to the programme. Unlike the Applied Japanese Studies programme, the Japanese courses in this programme focused on practical language skills including business Japanese and bilingual translation and interpretation, but the Japan-related subject was limited to a course on Japanese culture⁸⁰⁰. Nevertheless, as the skills in English and Chinese had always been considered important in Hong Kong, the combination of Japanese and English or Chinese attracted both potential students' and their parents' attention. The College of Higher Vocational Studies became a self-financing unit and was established as Community College of City University in 2004. Even after the change of status, both the Applied Japanese Studies and Bilingual Communication Studies programmes have proved popular.

⁷⁹⁸ Associate of Arts in Applied Japanese Studies Programme Handbook 2000/01

⁷⁹⁹ The Education Commission (2000)

⁸⁰⁰ Associate of Arts in Bilingual Communication Studies Programme Handbook 2003/04

The Division of Language Studies also provided an elective Japanese course. The courses called General Japanese I and II were designed for Higher Diploma/Associate Degree students who were majoring in disciplines other than Japanese and was offered from the 1998 academic year⁸⁰¹. Although it was a beginner-level introductory course, it became very popular with over 400 students enrolled in the 1999 academic year⁸⁰². Similarly elective Japanese courses were offered at the Department of Chinese, Translation and Linguistics of City University for degree students.

As the number of students who would be admitted to degree programmes has been limited, the demand for sub-degree programmes, such as Associate Degree or Higher Diploma programmes, has become stronger. Apart from Community College of City University, other sub-degree providers began to offer Japanese-related programmes.

The School of Professional and Continuing Education of the University of Hong Kong, which was developed from the former Department of Extramural Studies and is now commonly known as HKU SPACE, began its Associate Degree programme under its Community College unit. HKU SPACE Community College was founded in 2000 to provide sub-degree education at the Associate Degree and Higher Diploma level. The Associate of Arts in Japanese Studies programme was implemented in 2008 as a two-year full-time programme⁸⁰³. One of the objectives of the programme is to provide students with a broad-based arts education as well as a strong foundation in Japanese studies⁸⁰⁴. As the programme is designed to prepare students to be articulated into degree programmes, a heavy emphasis is put on general education courses in order to fit the programme structure of degree programmes. Therefore, as core specialism, only two Japanese courses are offered, and as generic skills subjects, courses on English, Chinese including Putonghua, multimedia and mathematics for business are studied. Students are also required to take

⁸⁰¹ Higher Diploma in Translation and Interpretation Programme Handbook 1998/99

⁸⁰² Horibe (2000) p.47

⁸⁰³ South China Morning Post, 1 March 2008

⁸⁰⁴ HKU SPACE Community College 2011/12 Prospectus

general education courses such as understanding social problems in Hong Kong, global and local cultures, science in society, food and the body or logic and critical thinking⁸⁰⁵. As elective subjects, three Japanese-related courses, introduction to Japanese business, introduction to Japanese studies and understanding Japanese popular culture, are offered. Yet, the total number of Japanese courses is fairly limited at HKU SPACE Community College.

Hong Kong Community College, the sub-degree providing unit of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, also began a Japanese-related associate degree programme. An Associate in Language and Culture programme aims at providing students with knowledge related to Putonghua, Japanese, and Asian history and culture⁸⁰⁶. In the programme, students study a number of Japanese subjects to acquire proficiency in Japanese and knowledge in Japanese culture as well as Chinese-related courses including Putonghua and business Chinese. Just like Associate of Arts in Japanese Studies of HKU SPACE Community College, the programme structure of the Associate in Language and Culture at Hong Kong Community College focuses more on general education and generic studies, compared with the Japanese-related Associate Degree programmes of Community College of City University. Out of ten compulsory courses, only two courses are Japanese subjects and the rest includes Chinese civilization, Chinese for business and administration, mass media and culture, and Putonghua, although students can take two more Japanese subjects as electives⁸⁰⁷.

The School of Continuing and Professional Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, known as CUHKSCS, also became a provider of Japanese-related programmes. In 2007, a Higher Diploma in Contemporary Japanese programme was implemented at the School. It is offered as 2-year or 3-year full-time programme

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁶ Hong Kong Community College 08/09 Guide to Enrolment

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

depending on the students' academic background, that is, two years for Form 7 graduates and three years for Form 5 graduates⁸⁰⁸. The programme aims at training Japanese specialists for the private and public sectors⁸⁰⁹. As a Higher Diploma programme, its courses are of practical nature. Apart from basic Japanese skills courses, it provides courses on Japanese essay writing, presentation skills, Japanese in newspaper, translation between Chinese and Japanese, selected topics on contemporary Japanese, and so on⁸¹⁰.

Responding to the popularity of Higher Diploma in Contemporary Japanese, a new Japanese-related programme was implemented at CUHKSCS in 2010. A Higher Diploma in Trilingual Studies for Business Communication programme is another unique sub-degree programme. The programme aims at equipping students with communication skills and at enhancing bilingual skills in English and Chinese in the business context. In addition to that, students are expected to develop skills in another language one of either Japanese or Korean⁸¹¹. It offers a variety of English and Chinese courses, such as reading and writing skills in English/Chinese, English presentation skills, business Putonghua, or commercial translation⁸¹². Apart from these, students who choose Japanese as the third language are required to take Japanese-related courses including Japanese language courses, selecting topics from Japanese business culture, Japanese history, culture and literature⁸¹³.

The Community College at Lingnan University offers a unique programme structure in its Japanese-related programme. A three-year full-time Higher Diploma in Japanese Studies programme accepts second year entry for Form 7 graduates under the

⁸⁰⁸ CUHKSCS website: <http://www.scs.cuhk.edu.hk/cuscs/en/index.php> accessed on 2 July 2011

⁸⁰⁹ School of Continuing and Professional Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong Autumn Prospectus 2007

⁸¹⁰ CUHKSCS website: <http://www.scs.cuhk.edu.hk/cuscs/en/index.php> accessed on 2 July 2011

⁸¹¹ Ibid.

⁸¹² School of Continuing and Professional Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong Higher Diploma Programmes Brochure 2011

⁸¹³ Ibid.

condition of possessing Level N5 (since 2011 entry) or Level 4 of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test or equivalent⁸¹⁴. Form 7 graduates without Japanese qualifications and Form 5 graduates are admitted to the Diploma in Japanese Studies which is considered as Year 1 of the Higher Diploma programme. Although the required Japanese qualification is not a high level, it allows the programme to provide reasonably high attainment in Japanese proficiency. The programme offers Japan-related components including Japanese history and Sino-Japanese relations, Japanese popular culture and Japanese business and finance, as well as Japanese language components such as Japanese kanji and vocabulary, Japanese listening comprehension and speaking, reading comprehension and grammar⁸¹⁵.

The new development at the tertiary institutions in the 2000s contributed to the rapid expansion of demand. The most prominent feature of this period was the commencement of postgraduate level programmes in Japanese studies. As the first growth of Japanese studies at the tertiary level was in the 1970s, Hong Kong's Japanese studies have established themselves in only 30 years. At the same time, the Japanese studies field expanded to the sub-degree education as well. This proves that a wide variety of demand has emerged, which fuelled a sudden increase in the number of Japanese learners in the 2000s.

Similar tendencies were observed at private language schools that offer Japanese courses. The general trend during this period was continuous growth in the 1990s and new developments leading to the rapid expansion in the 2000s.

At the Japanese course affiliated to the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong, the popularity of the course and the development in different directions continued to be observed. In the first half of the 1990s, the total number of students was about 800-900 each year, and about 900 persons sat for the selection examination to compete for 280-320

⁸¹⁴ The Community College at Lingnan University Prospectus 2011-2012

⁸¹⁵ Ibid.

places every year⁸¹⁶.

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
No. of students	780	812	843	884	940	943	914	1,431	1,504

Table 9.1: Total number of students at the Japanese Language Course affiliated with the Consulate-General of Japan. (Data from Japan Information & Cultural Centre (1998) pp.11--10)

In 1992, a course on Japan's current affairs commenced⁸¹⁷. As most Japanese language schools focused on the language courses, the introduction of Japan's current affairs course was unique at that time. In 1997, a renovation of classrooms and restructuring of course structure were carried out⁸¹⁸. It is obvious that this was a reflection of growing demand. Through this exercise, the number of classes drastically increased, while the number of students per class was reduced in order to enhance students' learning. Accordingly the number of teaching staff also increased.

In 2000, the Japanese language course which had been run by Japan Information & Cultural Centre of the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong was transferred to the Japan Society of Hong Kong, and was renamed as the Japan Society of Hong Kong Japanese language course⁸¹⁹. The course structure and teaching staff were also transferred to the new course. A new achievement of this period was the commencement of a radio programme "Go Go Japan 1" in 2004 produced by Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK), for which the staff of the Japan Society of Hong Kong Japanese language course were involved in the course design⁸²⁰. A Hong Kong pop star was appointed to promote the 26-lesson programme for the joint project between RTHK and the Japan Society of Hong Kong⁸²¹. The radio programme was also provided as e-learning material and was made

⁸¹⁶ Japan Information & Cultural Centre (1998) pp.11-12

⁸¹⁷ Ibid. p.11

⁸¹⁸ Ibid. p.12

⁸¹⁹ The Japan Society of Hong Kong (2008) p.6

⁸²⁰ Ibid., p.7

⁸²¹ South China Morning Post, 2 August 2004

available on the internet. As a continuation of the series, “Go Go Japan 2” and “Go Go Japan 3” were produced and broadcast in 2005 and 2007 respectively⁸²².

Another new attempt was to design a summer course for school students started in 2004, in which primary and secondary school students learned simple Japanese oral skills with some Japanese cultural exchanges⁸²³. As was mentioned earlier, most Japanese learners in Hong Kong used to be adults. However, this course attracted 450 students for the first year, which proved that there was a demand from the young generation. Responding the popularity of the summer course, Hong Kong’s first certificate course in Japanese for school students was implemented in the same year, in which 250 school students enrolled⁸²⁴. The 2-year certificate course not only taught practical conversation skills in Japanese but also provided students with the opportunities to experience Japanese traditional culture, such as *sado* (tea ceremony), *yukata* wearing, *bon-odori* (Japanese folk dance), and to visit the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong⁸²⁵. The number of applications always exceeded places. As the demand from the graduates of the course was high, the certificate course for primary/secondary school students was extended to a 4-year course which comprised a 2-year beginner programme and a 2-year intermediate programme⁸²⁶.

In fact, the demand for Japanese learning from the school age generation had gradually appeared since the 1990s, but there were very few courses that met the demand. It was only in the late 1990s that the Japanese education sector began considering to design special courses to meet the needs of this generation, and the idea came to fruition in the new century⁸²⁷. Some language schools established courses for school children, while

⁸²² The Japan Society of Hong Kong (2008) pp.7-8

⁸²³ Ibid. p.7

⁸²⁴ Ibid.

⁸²⁵ Ibid. p.10

⁸²⁶ Ibid.

⁸²⁷ Weekly Hong Kong, 15 July 2004

some secondary schools organized Japanese classes as extra-curricular activities⁸²⁸.

Around that period, an epoch-making change was made. For the first time in Hong Kong, Japanese was adopted in the school curriculum as a compulsory subject at a secondary school. In 2002, Shun Tak Fraternal Association Yung Yau College began Japanese language teaching for all students there⁸²⁹. The school was established in 2001, and this policy of a new school drew attention from the education sector not only of Japanese teaching but also of secondary education in general.

Following this new movement, other schools started to seriously consider offering a similar course. Within two years, three secondary schools had begun to teach Japanese as a compulsory subject and several more as an extra-curricular activity⁸³⁰. Along with the educational reform that Hong Kong was undergoing, it was considered that the new trend in Japanese language education should be nurtured. The Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong actively supported the commencement of Japanese classes at secondary schools and published a textbook designed for Hong Kong's school students⁸³¹.

Thus, Japanese language education came to be included in the school curriculum. Previously, one of the distinct features of Hong Kong's Japanese studies was the fact that there had been only a very low proportion of learners in the school generation. The appearance of this new group of learners, therefore, had a strong impact on the general situation of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. It can be considered that Japanese studies in Hong Kong, which were predominantly pursued by adults, started to show a different characteristic. As Table 9.2 shows, the number of students who learn Japanese at the primary or secondary education level grew rapidly at the turn of the century. Although the 2009 survey revealed a slight decrease, which was considered to be partly caused by a

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

⁸³⁰ Ibid.

⁸³¹ Ibid.

lower response rate⁸³², it was a big increase on the whole in only ten years. Taking into consideration the fact that courses for school children had become very popular, the growing proportion of this category of learners would change the general image of Japanese studies in Hong Kong and bring about a new wave. It is against this background that the private sector introduced more courses targeting the younger generation.

	1998	2003	2006	2009
No. of students	0	1,612	3,614	3,171
No. of institutions	0	10	56	39

Table 9.2: Number of learners and primary/secondary schools where Japanese is taught. (Data from the Japan Foundation)

Apart from the Japan Society of Hong Kong's Japanese language course, many other language schools started to offer courses for school children, mostly as short summer courses⁸³³. It has become very common to see advertisements for such courses at some of the large Japanese language schools.

For example, Daiichi Japanese Language and Culture School, re-named from Daiichi Japanese Language School, offers an introductory course for secondary school students⁸³⁴. After the 15-hour course, students can continue their Japanese learning at the beginner-level class. Similarly, Pasona Education, another very popular language school in Hong Kong, has implemented a summer Japanese beginner course for young people designed specifically for primary school students aged 8 to 11 and secondary school students aged 12 to 16⁸³⁵. Nikkei Japanese Language School, one of the best-known Japanese language schools in Hong Kong due to its intensive promotions on TV and in

⁸³² The Japan Foundation (2011)

⁸³³ Weekly Hong Kong, 15 July 2004

⁸³⁴ Daiichi Japanese Language and Culture School website:
http://www.daiichi-school.edu.hk/index_s.htm accessed on 4 July 2011

⁸³⁵ Pasona Education website: <http://www.pasona.edu.hk/eng/index.aspx> accessed on 4 July 2011

newspapers, also has a summer Japanese course for children as well as for teenagers⁸³⁶.

The Japanese learning boom among school children was even more accelerated with the introduction of the Hong Kong Secondary School Students Japanese Speech Contest in 2005 organized by Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong⁸³⁷. Since the first contest, the winner at the contest has been invited to the Japanese Speech Award organized by a Japanese non-profit organization, Education Guardianship Group as the Hong Kong representative⁸³⁸. Some of the contestants came from schools in which Japanese was taught as a compulsory subject or an extra-curricular activity, while some were those who were studying Japanese at language schools. The fact that a number of secondary school students have competed for the speech contest is more proof that there has been an increasing demand for Japanese studies from the young generation.

Changes have been observed in terms of the demand from adult learners of Japanese. During the Period of Growth of Demand, adult learners were the large majority of Hong Kong's learners of Japanese, who usually studied the language at private institutions. The courses for this group provided mostly basic Japanese language skills. The category of adult learners is still a core part of Hong Kong's Japanese learners even though a new category of school generation has gradually emerged⁸³⁹. However, one of the differences from the past situation is the types of courses available in the market. A wide variety of Japanese courses have become available.

For example, the School of Professional and Continuing Education of the University of Hong Kong known as HKU SPACE, as one of the leading institutions for lifelong learning, offers courses ranging from short summer courses to full-time certificate courses in Japanese. The short courses are introductory interest classes of 18 to 20 hours⁸⁴⁰.

⁸³⁶ Nikkei Japanese Language School website: <http://www.nikkei.edu.hk/index.php> accessed on 4 July 2011

⁸³⁷ The Japan Society of Hong Kong (2008)

⁸³⁸ Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong (2008b) p.42

⁸³⁹ The Japan Foundation (2011)

⁸⁴⁰ Headline Daily, 20 June 2011

Here too, one of the courses is designed for teenagers. The certificate courses are 7- to 8-week full-time courses of 120 hours, which range from beginner level to advanced. Other short courses include preparatory courses for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test of different levels and for the Business Japanese Proficiency Test⁸⁴¹. There are very unique courses offered at HKU SPACE as well, such as a short course on Kansai dialect, Japanese *sake* appreciation, Japanese flower arrangement, Japanese *kana* calligraphy, and so on⁸⁴². The demand for these types of courses did not appear until recently, which is an indication that a new kind of demand has been growing in Hong Kong.

The School of Continuing and Professional Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, or CUHKSCS, also offers various Japanese courses. A certificate course in Japanese language and a certificate and diploma course in business Japanese are among the choices⁸⁴³. These are designed as part-time evening courses in order to meet the needs from working people. Another category is general short courses to provide basic training in Japanese language from the beginner level to advanced level. Like those of HKU SPACE, preparatory courses for Japanese Language Proficiency Test are offered in this category. Apart from these general short courses in Japanese including one for secondary school students, more practical courses have become available⁸⁴⁴. A course in translation between Chinese and Japanese aims at providing deeper understanding of the cultural differences in Hong Kong and Japan through translation exercises⁸⁴⁵. Because the course requires the applicants to possess the Japanese language ability of N2 level or above for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test, it can provide learners with advanced level Japanese language skills. Meanwhile, courses on Japanese word processing, data processing and Power Point presentation skills are designed for people who have received over 400 contact hours of

⁸⁴¹ Ibid.

⁸⁴² Ibid.

⁸⁴³ Headline Daily, 16 June 2011

⁸⁴⁴ Headline Daily, 20 June 2011

⁸⁴⁵ CUHKSCS website: <http://www.scs.cuhk.edu.hk> accessed on 6 July 2011

Japanese learning.

At the lifelong learning unit of other tertiary institutions too, courses on Japanese language have been offered. In addition to these courses, those offered by the Hong Kong Trade Development Council are noteworthy. As its Japanese business language course had proved popular in developing written Japanese skills, another spoken Japanese course which would cover language, customs and business practice in Japan was launched in 1994⁸⁴⁶. The uniqueness of the course is obvious even from the host organization. As the main duty of the Hong Kong Trade Development Council is to create opportunities for Hong Kong companies by promoting trade in goods and services⁸⁴⁷, the courses were specifically designed for business people to equip themselves with language skills. Such Japanese courses that aimed at practical usage in business context were still very limited at that time. The course even provided a five-day educational tour of Japan for the most outstanding advanced course student⁸⁴⁸.

It has so far been described how the area of Japanese studies in Hong Kong has expanded since the 1990s. A number of courses and programmes were implemented in order to meet the diversifying demand. However, not all of these courses and programmes continued to be offered.

For example, the BA (Hons) in Languages with Business programme at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, which had been very popular for its unique programme structure, ceased to be offered. First, in 2002, the programme was restructured to allow students to take only Japanese as their secondary focus next to English⁸⁴⁹. German and French, which used to be among the options for the secondary focus, were removed from the programme curriculum. Later, the programme itself was discontinued and consequently

⁸⁴⁶ South China Morning Post, 16 January 1994

⁸⁴⁷ The Hong Kong Trade Development Council Corporate Brochure

⁸⁴⁸ South China Morning Post, 16 January 1994

⁸⁴⁹ South China Morning Post, 16 March 2002

there were no Japanese major programmes available. Currently at the undergraduate level, Japanese is only offered as a minor programme in Japanese business communication, for which students take four Japanese courses on business interaction and two elective Japanese courses⁸⁵⁰.

Even at postgraduate level, the discontinuation of programmes occurred. The MA in Japanese Language and Culture programme at HKU SPACE, which was operated with Osaka University of Foreign Studies, faded out and no Japanese programmes at postgraduate level are currently offered at HKU SPACE⁸⁵¹. Similarly, the MA programme in Japanese Language and Teaching at the Chinese University of Hong Kong has suspended the acceptance of applications since the 2010 admission⁸⁵². With the withdrawal of these two postgraduate programmes, the MA programme in Japanese Studies for the Professions at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University is currently the only one at the level in Hong Kong.

Thus, while there have been many new programmes implemented during the period since the 1990s, there were certain programmes that have been closed down. Yet, the discontinuation of programmes and courses has been less visible than the implementation of new programmes and courses. In other words, it can be considered that the field of Japanese studies in Hong Kong has generally developed in different directions.

To summarize, the 1990s was defined as the stable growth of demand. The boom of Japanese studies that started in the 1980s continued in the 1990s with some new characteristics. At the tertiary education sector, the foundations of which were laid by the 1980s was strengthened in the 1990s by the implementation of Japanese-major degree

⁸⁵⁰ The Hong Kong Polytechnic University website:

<http://www.cbs.polyu.edu.hk/programmes/minors-JBC.php> accessed on 8 July 2011

⁸⁵¹ HKU SPACE website: <http://hkuspace.hku.hk> accessed on 8 July 2011

⁸⁵² The Chinese University of Hong Kong website:

http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/jas/english/student/frame_ma_studies.html accessed on 8 July 2011

programmes. By the early 1990s, most tertiary institutions had started Japanese courses as elective subjects.

For the private sector too, the 1990s was the period of continuous growth. Although there were no prominent changes observed, the numbers of learners in the private language schools grew constantly. As was evidenced by the fact that the classroom capacity was increased with the renovation responding to the increasing students' enrolment at the Japanese Language Course affiliated with the Consulate General of Japan in Hong Kong, the interest in learning Japanese among local people became clearer.

Then the further expansion occurred in the 2000s. What has characterized Japanese studies at the tertiary level was the implementation of post-graduate programmes and sub-degree programmes. Until the 1990s, Japanese studies courses at Hong Kong's tertiary institutions were mainly carried out either in Japanese-major degree programmes, combined-mode programmes with business elements or as an elective subject of a degree curriculum. The expansion of this trend in both the higher degree and sub-degree direction clearly indicates that different kinds of demand for Japanese studies have emerged.

Another new trend that was prominent in the 2000s was the commencement of Japanese courses for the school generation. Until the 1990s, there was very little demand observed from the primary and secondary school generation. However, in the private language schools in the 2000s, various Japanese courses for secondary school or primary school students, from summer courses to certificate courses, came to be seen. Japanese was also adopted as a compulsory subject in the curriculum at one secondary school, which was followed by some other schools introducing Japanese courses in their curriculum or as an extra-curricular activity. As Hong Kong's Japanese studies were usually occupied by adult learners, the expansion to the school children has changed the general image. The demand from this new group of learners has contributed to the great increase in the number of Japanese learners during the period.

A further development was also seen in the lifelong learning sector. In the past, a large majority of this category focused on general Japanese language learning. Even though different levels were made available, they were basically all language courses. Recently, a wider variety of demand has been observed, from calligraphy classes to Japanese dialect classes. This trend has appeared as the next step of those who have acquired the basic Japanese language skills. With the further growth of Japanese education, it is anticipated that even more diversified demand will come to be seen.

Thus, the period since the 1990s is defined as the Period of Expansion of Demand. With the continuing development in Hong Kong's Japanese studies that originally began in the 1960s, new types of demand came to be realized. In the following chapter, it will be analyzed what made the demand for Japanese studies so diversified during this period.

Chapter 10 Weakened Insecurity and Secured Japanese Presence

In the previous chapter, it was clarified that the period since the 1990s was characterized in terms of the expansion of demand for Japanese studies in Hong Kong. The Japanese language education in Hong Kong, which had shown a rapid growth especially since the 1970s, even further expanded since the 1990s. At the same time, new developments in the Japanese studies were identified. In this chapter, what caused the further expansion and new developments will be investigated. First, the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong during this period will be examined. It was previously described that the existence of Japanese became more visible from the 1970s. A particular attention will be drawn to whether the situation differs from that period. Second, the development in the accessibility between Hong Kong and Japan will be examined. Next, it will be considered what effect the economic development of the two regions had on the expansion of Japanese studies. Finally, other factors which have influenced especially on the new types of demand for Japanese studies will be presented.

The number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong gives some idea of the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong society. The census carried out in 1991 confirmed that the number of Japanese residing in Hong Kong exceeded 10,000 for the first time (Figure10.1). Although the total population of Hong Kong has been increasing throughout the period, the number of Japanese residents, which had nearly doubled in five years from 1991, showed a sudden drop in the 2001 census and a further decrease in the 2006 by-census. In terms of the Japanese population in Hong Kong, it can be said that the mid-1990s was a turning point.

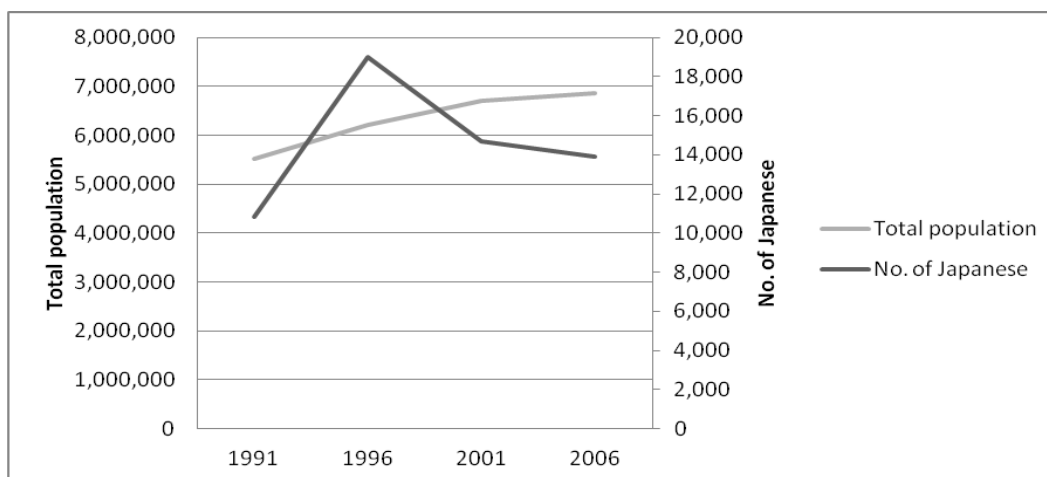


Figure 10.1: Number of Japanese in Hong Kong and Hong Kong's total population from 1991 to 2006. (Data from Census and Statistics Department (1992), (1997), (2002b) and (2007))

During the Period of Growth of Demand, it was analyzed that the increase of the number of Japanese residents raised the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong, and it corresponded to the development of Japanese studies. As far as the number of Japanese residents during the Period of Expansion of Demand is concerned, no direct correlation is observed with the continuous development of Japanese studies. Although the number of Japanese residents decreased from the late-1990s, it did not cause the immediate shrinkage of Japanese studies in the region. Rather, the demand for Japanese studies continued its expansion and new directions of the development were observed in the 2000s. It is worth mentioning, however, that both the number of Japanese learners and institutions in the survey conducted by the Japan Foundation and the number of examinees for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test have shown a decrease towards the late-2000s. This may mean that the decrease in the number of Japanese residents gradually affected the presence of Japanese, which resulted in the decrease in the number of Japanese learners.

By observing the number of visitors from Japan to Hong Kong (Figure 10.2), a similar picture is drawn. It has not shown a simple rise. In the early 1990s, Japan was under a serious recession due to the collapse of its bubble economy. Hence, the number of visitors did not show a significant change. From 1995, a record-breaking boom of Japanese

visitors to Hong Kong occurred as the image of Hong Kong before returning to China itself became an attraction⁸⁵³. Moreover, the strong yen against the other currencies motivated Japanese people to visit Hong Kong under British sovereignty at its last stage, which caused the drastic increase. On the other hand, because many more visitors came to the British colony than usual, there was a huge drop after the handover⁸⁵⁴. A further decrease observed in 1998 was largely due to the occurrence of Asia's financial crisis. Then it gradually recovered to the post-bubble economy level, but again dropped suddenly in 2003 largely because of the outbreak of SARS. Since then, it has remained at almost the same level as the early 1990s with about 1.2-1.3 million visitors annually. Thus, the number of Japanese visitors to Hong Kong has repeated increases and decreases, which shows a similar tendency to the number of Japanese residents. Again it is considered that the decrease from the late-1990s had a gradual influence on the presence of Japanese.

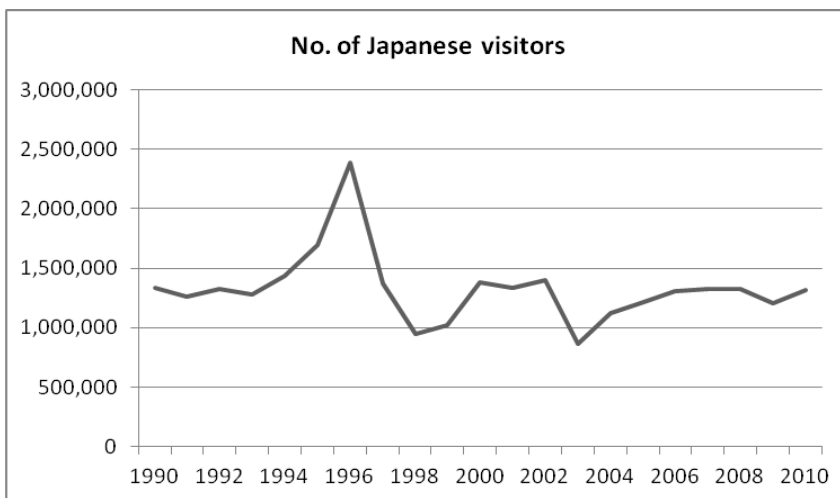


Figure 10.2: Number of Japanese visitors to Hong Kong in the past 20 years. (Data from Japan National Tourism Organization (2011) pp.208-209)

On the other hand, the number of visitors from Hong Kong to Japan shows a slightly different tendency. In 1990, 152,563 Hong Kong people visited Japan, whereas the

⁸⁵³ Japan National Tourism Organization (2011) p.209

⁸⁵⁴ Tanaka & Suematsu (1999) pp.232-234

number drastically increased to 508,691 in the 2010 data⁸⁵⁵. It means that an increase of over three times was observed in two decades, which is clearly different from the number of Japanese visitors into Hong Kong as it returned to the 1990 level in 2010 after some increases and decreases. It is obvious from the figures that Japan has become a common travel destination for Hong Kong people. However, by looking at the details, it becomes clear that the number of Hong Kong people visiting Japan does not demonstrate a simple one-way growth.

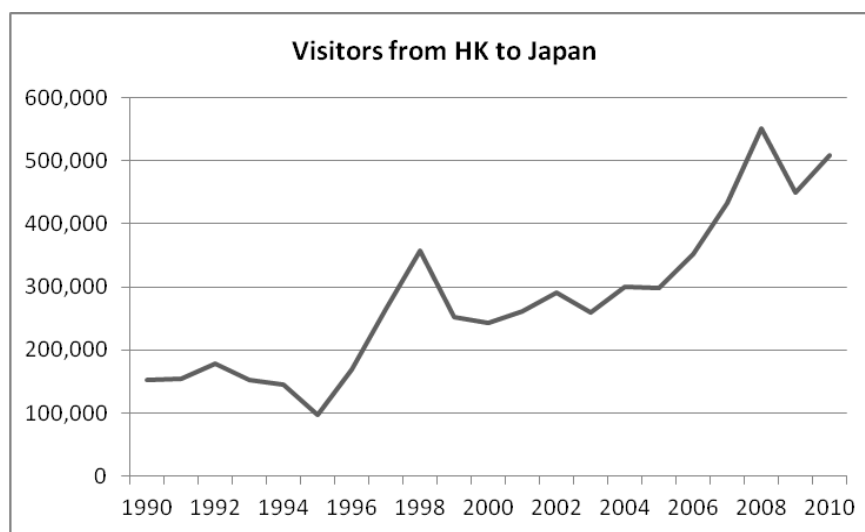


Figure 10.3: Number of Hong Kong people visiting Japan in the past 20 years. (Data from Japan National Tourism Organization (2011) pp.208-209)

The decrease from 1993 to 1995 was over 40 per cent in three years. One of the biggest reasons was the strong Japanese yen during the period. In August 1993, the exchange rate of Japanese yen against U.S. dollars recorded 100 yen⁸⁵⁶. As Hong Kong dollars are linked to U.S. dollars, the unfavourable exchange rate hit the tourism industry. It worsened in 1995, when 1 U.S. dollar was worth 79.75 Japanese yen. In addition, it was the year when the Great Hanshin and Awaji Earthquake caused serious damage, which was followed by a sarin attack on Tokyo's subways by Aum Shinrikyo. These brought Hong

⁸⁵⁵ Japan National Tourism Organization (2011) pp.208-209

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid. p.208

Kong people an insecure impression of Japan. A large drop in 1995 would be explained by these.

With the gradual weakening of the Japanese yen and the commencement of issuance of multiple visas to Japan for British National Overseas (BNO) passport holders from 1996⁸⁵⁷, a sudden increase was observed. An interesting fact regarding Hong Kong tourists to Japan in this period was the style and major purpose of their trips. With the weak Japanese yen, Japan was apparently becoming a popular holiday destination especially for young people who said it was cheap and trendy to visit Japan⁸⁵⁸. Young people in their 20s and 30s came to make up the largest group of tourists from Hong Kong to Japan, and there were usually more women than men in the groups⁸⁵⁹. The main purpose of tourists travelling to Japan had previously been to visit places of scenic beauty and historic interest. By this period it had become to see the latest trends in fashion and other areas, to visit amusement parks and character goods shops, or to have authentic Japanese food⁸⁶⁰.

The boom continued until 1998. Within three years from 1996, the number of visitors from Hong Kong to Japan tripled and exceeded 300,000. Then another drop occurred. The drop from 1998 was again considered to be caused largely by the strong Japanese yen at that time. After the highest hit in 1995, the Japanese yen exchange rate against U.S. dollars was slowly lowered, and it reached the level of nearly 145 yen to 1 dollar in early 1998⁸⁶¹. It fell to 115 yen level by the end of the year and below the 110 yen level at the end of 1999⁸⁶². It is easily deduced that the strong Japanese yen discouraged Hong Kong people from visiting Japan.

Yet, while the exchange rate issue was eased from the latter half of 2000, a new

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid. p.209

⁸⁵⁸ Asahi Evening News, 18 September 1998

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁶¹ Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation Website:

<http://www.smbc.co.jp/kojin/gaika/graph.html> accessed on 19 July 2011

⁸⁶² Ibid.

Japanese visa policy for Hong Kong people, under which a three-year multiple visa was issued for Hong Kong people, gradually attracted them to travel to Japan. Although there was a slight decrease observed in 2003 largely due to the outbreak of SARS in the first half of the year, an increasing number of people visited Japan, which was accelerated by Japan's waiving the tourist visa for Hong Kong people in 2004⁸⁶³. Interestingly, the tendency of strong Japanese yen since 2009 has not seriously affected the number. Although it decreased in 2009 after a global economic recession, it rose again in 2010 despite the higher exchange rate for Japanese yen. It can be considered that there was stronger driving force attracting people to Japan.

It is, however, expected that the number of Hong Kong visitors to Japan will fall sharply in 2011 because of the Great East Japan Earthquake, a massive earthquake and tsunami disaster that hit the northern part of Japan on 11 March 2011, and fears over the radioactive leakage caused by the malfunction of nuclear plants in Fukushima after the disaster. The Japanese tourism industry took a serious blow after the catastrophe with a 50 per cent decrease in the number of foreign visitors in March compared with the previous year⁸⁶⁴. In fact, the Hong Kong government issued the Black Outbound Travel Alert for Fukushima Prefecture and Red Outbound Travel Alert for the rest of Japan on 12 March, the day after the earthquake⁸⁶⁵. The black travel alert was to urge Hong Kong residents in Japan to avoid all travel to Fukushima, while the red travel alert was to advise against non-essential travel. The black travel alert was extended to three more regions, Miyagi, Ibaraki and Iwate, on 15 March⁸⁶⁶. Most travel companies agreed with the Travel Industry Council that they should stop tours to Japan until 15 April⁸⁶⁷. Accordingly, most tours to Japan were cancelled, which caused a drastic decrease in the number of Hong Kong

⁸⁶³ Japan National Tourism Organization (2011) p.209

⁸⁶⁴ The Yomiuri Shimbun, 18 April 2011

⁸⁶⁵ Hong Kong Government Press Release, 12 March 2011

⁸⁶⁶ South China Morning Post, 16 March 2011

⁸⁶⁷ South China Morning Post, 6 April 2011, The Standard, 18 March 2011

visitors. For instance, one of Hong Kong's popular travel agencies, Wing On Travel cancelled 121 groups affecting 2,300 customers⁸⁶⁸. It was further worsened in April, when only 5,800 Hong Kong people went to Japan, which was an 87.6 per cent plunge from 46,598 a year before⁸⁶⁹.

The tourism industry soon tried to improve the situation. Just in time for the Easter holiday, some companies resumed tours to less affected areas of Japan, such as Osaka, Hokkaido and Fukuoka, from 9 April⁸⁷⁰. Although the tours had lowered the prices, it did not bring many tourists back to Japan, as while fewer people were going to Japan, more were going to other places like Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia⁸⁷¹. One travel agency even offered a five-day tour to Osaka during Easter for HK\$5,000, which was down from HK\$12,000 in the previous Easter⁸⁷².

Although the situation has been gradually recovering, the damage to the industry is significant. More effort has been made by the local tourism industry. Cathay Pacific Airways, a leading airline company in Hong Kong, launched 'We love Japan' campaign on 13 June, which was designed to encourage Japanese people to invite friends, relatives and colleagues from Hong Kong to Japan by offering 500 free round-trip tickets⁸⁷³. Other airline companies, such as Japan Airlines and All Nippon Airways, also offered special discount tickets to Hong Kong residents⁸⁷⁴.

As a matter of fact, it is not only the tourism industry that has been badly affected by the disaster, especially the issues relating to the malfunction of Fukushima nuclear power plant. As concerns over the safety of imported food from Japan mounted, Hong Kong's government officials gave assurance, just ten days after the quake, that the

⁸⁶⁸ The Standard, 18 March 2011

⁸⁶⁹ South China Morning Post, 2 June 2011

⁸⁷⁰ South China Morning Post, 6 April 2011

⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

⁸⁷² South China Morning Post, 10 April 2011

⁸⁷³ South China Morning Post, 24 June 2011

⁸⁷⁴ Japan National Tourism Organization Website: <http://www.welcome2japan.hk/topics/> accessed on 22 July 2011

foodstuffs imported from Japan were safe through the tests carried out on 211 batches of food⁸⁷⁵. Despite the assurance, however, it was reported that Hong Kong's Japanese restaurants had lost an average 20 per cent in revenue by the end of March⁸⁷⁶, which means within three weeks after the quake. These restaurants did not depend entirely on ingredients imported from Japan, but people's concerns over Japanese food kept people away from Japanese restaurants. The situation worsened with the news of the closure of a high-class Japanese restaurant in early April, which reportedly had lost 70 per cent of its business⁸⁷⁷.

It was estimated that there were about 4,000 Japanese restaurants in Hong Kong with 800 run by Japanese chefs, and the rest operated by local owners⁸⁷⁸. The impact these restaurants received was huge. In order to reduce the loss in the industry, various attempts were made. A lawmaker in the catering sector invited other legislators, as well as some Food and Environmental Hygiene and Health bureau officials, to a sushi and sashimi lunch to promote the safety of Japanese food and help the Japanese food trade⁸⁷⁹. The Hong Kong Japanese Restaurant Association and the Hong Kong Catering Industry Association held a campaign at over 200 Japanese restaurants on four Wednesdays from 25 May to 15 June offering selected dishes or products at half price⁸⁸⁰. While big Japanese restaurant chains then gradually recovered from three months of reduced business, smaller businesses and high-end outlets were still struggling to regain public confidence⁸⁸¹.

It has not yet been known whether the natural disaster in Japan will affect the development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. However, a distinct feature as to how Hong Kong people perceive Japan has become clearer since the occurrence of the Great

⁸⁷⁵ South China Morning Post, 21 March 2011

⁸⁷⁶ South China Morning Post, 30 March 2011

⁸⁷⁷ South China Morning Post, 4 April 2011

⁸⁷⁸ South China Morning Post, 26 April 2011

⁸⁷⁹ The Standard, 31 March 2011

⁸⁸⁰ South China Morning Post, 17 May 2011

⁸⁸¹ South China Morning Post, 31 May 2011

East Japan Earthquake.

Once the news showing the tragic scenes of the disaster spread to Hong Kong, the local people responded to it quickly to offer helping hands. Many fundraising events and related activities were organized throughout Hong Kong. Just to give some examples, World Vision Hong Kong collected HK\$12 million in 10 days after the quake⁸⁸², while the Red Cross received HK\$21 million in almost the same period⁸⁸³. The Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong received an average of HK\$96,000 a day for the first two weeks after the disaster⁸⁸⁴. On 1 April, a charity concert was held named *Artistes 311 Love beyond Borders*, in which 173 local and foreign artists participated, raised HK\$18 million⁸⁸⁵. By then, the total donations given by Hong Kong residents had exceeded HK\$100 million, excluding the fundraising from *Artistes 311 Love beyond Borders*⁸⁸⁶.

Apart from these large scale fundraising events, other charity activities were organized. In a campaign held on 20 March at a shopping mall, 5,000 origami paper cranes were made to express Hong Kong people's solidarity with the Japanese in a tough time⁸⁸⁷. Many students at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, including Japanese exchange students, gathered to send messages of support for Japan⁸⁸⁸. At the University of Hong Kong, a group of Japanese and local students, as well as academics, staged a fundraising mini-concert on the campus, while at Kennedy School, one of 16 schools run by the English Schools Foundation, raised more than HK\$110,000 at an event held at the primary school⁸⁸⁹. At many restaurants and shops, donation boxes were set up. The owner of a Japanese restaurant decided to donate all the profit of one Sunday to the Red Cross relief

⁸⁸² The Standard, 21 March 2011

⁸⁸³ South China Morning Post, 23 March 2011

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁵ South China Morning Post, 2 April 2011

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁷ The Standard, 21 March 2011

⁸⁸⁸ South China Morning Post, 29 March 2011

⁸⁸⁹ South China Morning Post, 19 March 2011

work⁸⁹⁰.

Such news became very common in Hong Kong, which reveals how much Hong Kong people are concerned about Japan. Of course, it is not only Japan that Hong Kong people show their concern about. Similar events and activities were commonly seen when the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake or other natural disasters in other regions occurred. Nonetheless, from people's attitudes towards the Japanese at this difficult time, it is obvious that Japan has already established strong presence in Hong Kong society. Their concerns and help for the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake are obviously understandable as Hong Kong is a part of China, and consists mostly of Chinese ethnicity. However, taking into consideration the fact that Japan is a foreign country, it can be concluded that Hong Kong people's perception of Japan is both positive and strong. Without it, the amount of donations and the voices of support that were collected would not have been achieved. As was mentioned earlier, the number of Japanese residents or Japanese companies in Hong Kong does not show an increasing tendency. Therefore, there must be other factors that are strengthening the presence of Japan in Hong Kong.

It is thus clear that the number of Hong Kong visitors to Japan experienced increases and decreases. Behind the decreases, several factors were recognized including the unfavourable exchange rate, financial crisis, the outbreak of disease, or natural disasters. On the other hand, the increases were supported by new policies regarding tourist visa as well as the favourable exchange rate. This has led to the three-fold increase since 1990. Compared with the Period of Growth of Demand, therefore, it is obvious that Japan has become one of the most popular travel destinations for Hong Kong people. Even though the number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong and Japanese tourists visiting Hong Kong has recently become smaller, it does not mean that the presence of Japanese has become weaker. Regardless of occasional falls in the number of Hong Kong visitors to

⁸⁹⁰ South China Morning Post, 23 March 2011

Japan, the figures showed a significant increase in a long term. Japan has consequently established a status as one of the most popular travel destinations for Hong Kong people. The fact that Japan has been visited by more and more Hong Kong people contributed significantly to forming closeness to, and familiarity with Japan in their mind, which has strengthened the presence of Japanese.

During the Period of Growth of Demand, the entry of Japanese popular culture into Hong Kong was considered to be one of the causes that raised the demand for Japanese studies. As was described earlier, Japanese popular culture gradually penetrated into Hong Kong people's daily life from the 1970s mainly through television. At the early stage, Japanese cartoons or programmes for children that were broadcast through the local stations gained popularity among Hong Kong children.

The popularity of Japanese culture in Hong Kong is often explained by the concept of 'foreign but not-so-foreign'. Hong Kong people have been developing a high level of literacy in regard to Japanese cultural products through the serialized Japanese dramas and cartoons on the air since the 1970s⁸⁹¹.

A sense of closeness to Japanese culture was nurtured with the introduction of Japanese TV programmes.

Similarly Japanese popular songs entered the Hong Kong market from the 1970s first as cover songs of theme songs of Japanese cartoons or TV dramas sung by local singers. Japanese popular culture was thus commonly known to Hong Kong people, especially the young generation. The influence of Japanese popular culture has continued even in the Period of Expansion of Demand.

⁸⁹¹ Nakano (2002) pp.235-236

The boom of Japanese TV dramas occurred from the mid-to-late 1990s. Other popular contents which entered Hong Kong during this period included Japanese cartoons generally known as *anime* and Japanese comics. Although Japanese cartoons were broadcast from the early period of television viewing in Hong Kong, this early introduction of Japanese anime was done through TV broadcasts only, and the contents chosen were mainly for children. While the tendency of Hong Kong TV stations to rely heavily on importing Japanese cartoons has continued during the Period of Expansion of Demand, various kinds of anime quickly entered the Hong Kong market with a new technology called Video Compact Disc or VCD from the 1990s, which had a great impact especially on the Hong Kong youth.

For example, in the cartoon category, Japanese offerings gained more popularity than American cartoons, which was reflected by a higher viewing rate.

From today, the warm, friendly faces of Warner Brothers' classic cartoon characters will appear regularly on the screens of those able to receive Cable TV. But with Japanese cartoons such as Dragonball Z dominating the prime time market on terrestrial stations, the Looney Tunes line-up is expected to struggle. Though hugged and surrounded by kids at a launch promotion yesterday, Bugs Bunny and Porky Pig are unlikely take the place of Wu-kung of Japanese kung-fu cartoon Dragonball Z⁸⁹².

Thus, Japanese anime on TV grabbed Hong Kong youth's heart. Although some of Japanese cartoons were controversial for their violent and even obscene scenes⁸⁹³, they became the most popular children's programmes in Hong Kong. The flow of Japanese anime was further brought in the daily life of the youth in Hong Kong by the spread of

⁸⁹² South China Morning Post, 5 August 1996

⁸⁹³ South China Morning Post, 14 July 1996

pirated VCDs, which will be described below.

It can also be considered that the wide acceptance of Japanese anime was partly due to the emergence of a new parent generation who had grown up with Japanese anime themselves.

In Hong Kong, Japanese cartoons and animation designs are still by far the most popular. We are no strangers to Japanese animations. After all, most of us grew up watching them on television or in the cinema⁸⁹⁴.

Now, 1970s children who were exposed heavily to Japanese children's programmes have become parents. This generation of parents are relatively less resistant to Japanese anime, and therefore it is easy for them to accept the habit of watching Japanese anime for their child's generation. At the same time, the living standard of Hong Kong people improved much compared to the time when these parents were growing up. This improvement meant access to a variety of materials such as Japanese anime DVDs, or comic books.

Replacing the video and laser disc, a new format called the video compact disc (VCD) was introduced and rapidly spread in Hong Kong from the mid-1990s. The VCD format is simply a CD-ROM that can hold about 45 minutes of moving images and audio to be played on the disc drive of a computer or an inexpensive player attached to a television⁸⁹⁵. This new technology became very popular in Asia except Japan because of its low cost and how easy it is to produce, reproduce, consume, exchange and throw away⁸⁹⁶. What made VCDs so popular in Hong Kong was the contents of the discs. Many Japanese serial dramas and prime-time shows as well as Japanese and Hollywood films were copied and circulated from the mid-1990s. These were done mostly illegally, without a licence.

⁸⁹⁴ South China Morning Post, 28 October 2002

⁸⁹⁵ Davis (2003) pp.165-166

⁸⁹⁶ Davis & Yeh (2004) pp.228-230

Yet, people were attracted by the cheap price of VCDs, which was about 1/10 of authorized DVDs, although the quality of VCDs was much worse than that of DVDs⁸⁹⁷. Hong Kong's young generation, particularly teenagers and working youth were attracted by the VCDs not simply because of the price but also the wide variety of choice.

Audiences, especially students and young, style-conscious men and women, choose to watch VCDs because it --- the programs and the technology --- is an attractive alternative to Hong Kong television⁸⁹⁸.

For the young generation, the programme choice of local TV stations was insufficient as there were only four channels, a half of which were English broadcasts, unless the paid Cable TV or satellite channels were available. On the other hand, VCDs could offer what they wanted to watch, from serial dramas to music shows in which their favourite stars appeared, whenever they wished. In that sense, VCDs met their demand, which further accelerated their popularity.

Most of these pirated VCDs were produced in Taiwan and were exported from there to other Chinese communities including Hong Kong. One of the main reasons why the pirated VCDs were commonly produced in Taiwan was that Taiwan and Japan had a lax copyright agreement under which Taiwan was given the privilege of manufacturing a so-called 'B copy' of any Japanese product after 30 days if no other legal Taiwanese agencies secured the right of distribution⁸⁹⁹. It was through these pirated VCDs that Japanese TV dramas gained the popularity in Hong Kong. Not only serial dramas, but also music programmes or variety shows were copied, sub-titled and sold.

⁸⁹⁷ Davis (2003) p.165

⁸⁹⁸ Davis & Yeh (2004) p.230

⁸⁹⁹ Hu (2005) p.172

Its (Japanese popular culture's) manifestations are not limited to *manga*, *anime*, or video games --- Japanese television programming is also in great demand. While some programs are actually licensed and broadcast in various East Asian countries, a great majority of them are not, and the East Asian public has resorted to purchasing readily available pirated copies⁹⁰⁰.

Although these VCDs were illegal, they were very easily obtained through local shops and street hawkers and were highly popular with young people. Thus pirated VCDs contributed to spreading Japanese popular culture to the Hong Kong youth.

Nevertheless, the copyright issue came to be spotlighted first by pressure from the U.S. government. Accordingly Hong Kong authorities seized 10 million pirated VCDs from an illegal manufacturer in May 1997, but Hong Kong was still put on the copyright-piracy-watch list by the US Trade Representative's Office⁹⁰¹. Although efforts by the Hong Kong government continued, the software piracy rate in 1998 remained high at 59 per cent⁹⁰². In that year, a total of 39 million discs worth HK\$960 million were seized⁹⁰³. With the effort by Hong Kong authorities, such as a territory-wide campaign to educate customers, it was declared that the retail trade of pirated products in the territory was on the decline⁹⁰⁴. Furthermore, the Hong Kong government approved a bill that would place copyright offences under the territory's Organized and Serious Crimes Ordinance, by which manufacturers of pirated goods would face heavier penalties, such as a maximum penalty of a HK\$50,000 fine or four years' imprisonment per disc seized and confiscation of assets⁹⁰⁵. As a result, shops or venues that sold pirated CDs and VCDs rapidly disappeared from Hong Kong.

⁹⁰⁰ Lambert (2006) p.1318

⁹⁰¹ Decker (1998) p.6

⁹⁰² Moores & Dhillon (2000) p.90

⁹⁰³ Mok (1999) p.76

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁵ Mok (2000a) p.12

However, these pirated CDs and VCDs were gradually replaced by illegal downloads through the internet. They were even easier and cheaper than obtaining pirated CDs and VCDs. With the advances in computer technology, these illegal acts penetrated into the life of Hong Kong youth. Ironically, however, they even helped Japanese popular culture further spread in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong government set up a seven-member anti-Internet-piracy task force in 2000 to tackle the illegal acts⁹⁰⁶. Yet, this issue of illegal downloads has still been unsolved. To some extent, the popularity of Japanese programmes has been retained by the illegal downloads.

One phenomenon that indicates how much Japanese anime and comics have influenced Hong Kong's young generation is the organization of an annual event called the Anime, Comic and Game Hong Kong Convention (ACGHK), which began life as the Hong Kong Comics Festival in 1999. This event, the biggest of its kind in Hong Kong attracts hundreds of thousands of visitors. In 2010, more than 500 booths featuring everything from animations, comics and games were set up, and 680,000 people visited the event⁹⁰⁷, which was followed by a 2.2 per cent increase in 2011 with 696,000 visitors⁹⁰⁸. The event started with 220,000 visitors in 1999, and the number has kept growing since then, more than a three-fold increase in 12 years⁹⁰⁹. Each year, several celebrities are invited to the event, including Japanese cartoonists or singers⁹¹⁰. Not only the booths selling anime DVDs, comics, or cosplay (dressing up as comic book characters) outfits, but also competitions open to the public attract visitors.

The boom of cosplay also came into Hong Kong from Japan. Cosplay, which is derived from "costume play", is an activity in which people simply imitate favourite characters in comic books, anime, computer games or even Japanese TV shows, movies or

⁹⁰⁶ Mok (2000b) p.62

⁹⁰⁷ South China Morning Post, 28 July 2011

⁹⁰⁸ South China Morning Post, 3 August 2011

⁹⁰⁹ ACGHK Website: <http://www.ani-com.hk/2011ver/index.php> accessed on 31 July 2011

⁹¹⁰ South China Morning Post, 20 June 2010

bands by dressing up like them⁹¹¹. It gained popularity especially among young people in Hong Kong from the time when the first Hong Kong Comics Festival was held. At the ACGHK, Hong Kong's biggest cosplay competitions are held, in which people transform themselves into their favourite character, for HK\$6,000 in prize money⁹¹².

Anime fans also gathered at concerts held by two of the biggest names in anime theme songs from Japan. The so-called king and queen of *anison* (anime theme songs) appeared at the 2007 Anime Japan Fes for their performance and returned to Hong Kong for another concert in 2009, a special one-night-only performance to celebrate the 40th anniversary of their debut⁹¹³. Actually it is quite rare in Hong Kong to have such a concert by an anime song singer as anime theme songs in Hong Kong are usually sung by popular singers. This is proof that Japanese anime has been well received in Hong Kong.

Similarly, Japanese popular music was spread in Hong Kong through pirated CDs. The main difference from the spread of Japanese TV dramas was that as licensed Japanese music CDs were easily available at any CD shop, the influence of pirated CDs was limited compared with Japanese dramas. Nonetheless, in 1999, for example, it was estimated that the piracy accounted for about 60 per cent of CD sales⁹¹⁴. This explains that people preferred the cheaper version even though the quality of the products was poorer. However, just like pirated VCDs, the availability of pirated CDs has rapidly reduced as the control over piracy tightened. Then the role that pirated CDs played was taken over by a new technology.

Although Japanese popular music came to be known to Hong Kong people from the 1970s through the television, advances in internet technology contributed to the further spread of Japanese popular music in Hong Kong. Behind this, it appears that the change in strategies of Japanese music companies has had a significant impact. They actively utilize

⁹¹¹ South China Morning Post, 23 February 2010

⁹¹² South China Morning Post, 3 August 2011

⁹¹³ South China Morning Post, 4 January 2009

⁹¹⁴ Hughes (1999b) p.58

the new technology for promotion. Internet tools, such as YouTube and Facebook, have become very important platforms for the music companies to promote their singers and bands because frequently updated information can easily be provided through these platforms⁹¹⁵. This has enhanced the accessibility of Japanese music for Hong Kong people.

No matter whether it was through pirated CDs or new internet tools, Japanese popular music has penetrated into Hong Kong people's daily life, especially for the young generation. The trend had actually been observed even in the Period of Growth of Demand, but the major difference is Japanese musicians' perception of the Asian market. It is true that some Japanese singers held concerts in Hong Kong even in the 1980s. In 1983 alone, for example, some big names including Kyu Sakamoto, Masatoshi Nakamura, and Mayumi Itsuwa came to Hong Kong to perform⁹¹⁶. These were, however, rare cases of Japanese singers giving performances in Hong Kong at that time.

Then, as more and more Japanese popular songs have come to be known to Hong Kong people since the 1990s, Hong Kong, as well as other Asian regions, has become an important market for Japanese singers. This has laid the foundation for them to advance their career to Asia. As the Asian market is huge, Japanese pop singers look for opportunities to enter the market. Naturally, it has become more common to see concerts by Japanese singers in Hong Kong. For many of Japanese artists, it is now unusual not to have a Hong Kong date on their tours⁹¹⁷. The types of Japanese popular music available also vary from pop rock, folk rock, punk-pop, to R&B, dance, and acoustic⁹¹⁸, which attract Hong Kong youngsters' attention.

Thus, the presence of Japanese has become stronger than before through the penetration of Japanese popular culture in Hong Kong since the 1990s. Although the number of Japanese residents and Japanese companies in Hong Kong and Japanese visitors

⁹¹⁵ South China Morning Post, 15 August 2010

⁹¹⁶ Chen & Yang (2004) p.366

⁹¹⁷ South China Morning Post, 15 August 2010

⁹¹⁸ Ibid.

to Hong Kong has not shown an increase great enough to influence Hong Kong people's perception of Japan, the existence of Japan has come to be felt easily by local people with the spread of Japanese popular culture. In addition, with the improvement in living standards of Hong Kong people in general, more and more people have had the chance to visit Japan. These factors have created a sense of psychological and physical closeness to Japan in Hong Kong people's mind. As the young generation is more easily affected by the spread of popular culture through anime, comics, games and popular songs, a demand for Japanese studies from this generation has gradually emerged. It is one of the characteristics that differentiate this period from the Period of Growth of Demand, when the demand for Japanese studies was mostly from adults who expected and pursued the financial benefit by equipping themselves with Japanese language ability.

Japan continues to be one of Hong Kong's important trading partners, remaining the third largest after China and the United States. However, in this field, China's position has become far more significant than any other regions. Japan's importance in Hong Kong's external trade was more prominent in the 1970s when Japan was the second largest partner. Even in the 1980s when China surpassed Japan and U.S.A. to take over the top position, the well-performing Japanese economy never lost Hong Kong people's attention as China's potential was yet unknown and people felt insecure about the communist country. The importance of Japan's position in the economic relations with Hong Kong explained the popular demand for business-related Japanese programmes at the tertiary level.

However, the situation changed after 1990, especially with the burst of Japan's bubble economy in the early 1990s (Figure 10.4).

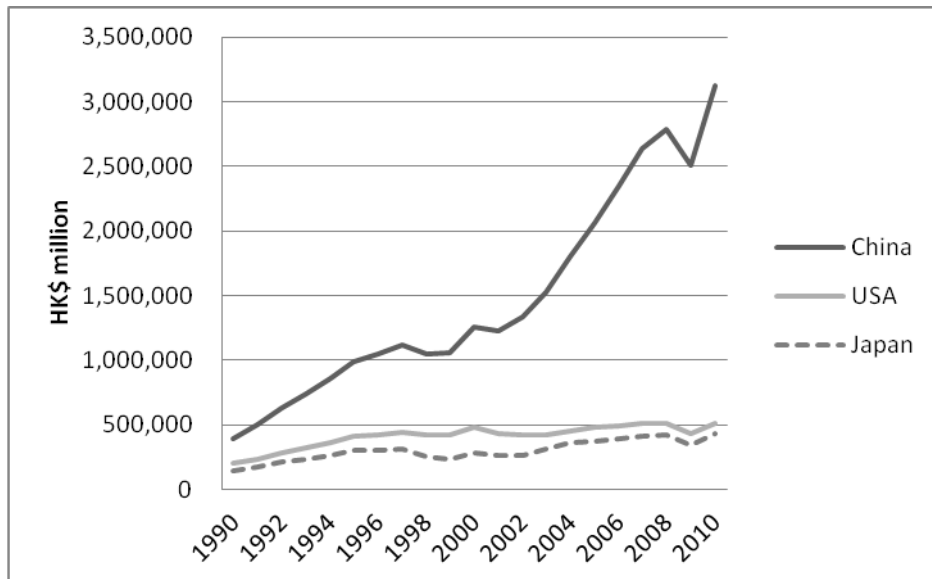


Figure 10.4: Total external trade with China, USA and Japan in the past 20 years. (Data from Census and Statistics Department)

Even though the total trade with Japan did not show a decrease immediately after the economic downturn, Hong Kong people lost confidence in Japan, who had been leading the world's economy. At the same time, China was experiencing extremely fast economic growth. Therefore, people's attention gradually shifted more to China economically. The economy of Japan has not shown full recovery since then. This implies that people's demand for Japanese studies in this regard has weakened compared to the 1980s, when people considered that they would benefit from learning Japanese because there were plenty of career opportunities in the market at that time. Although the opportunities appear to have lessened, they still exist now. It is evidenced by the fact that many practical Japanese programmes have been implemented since the 1990s. The difference from the 1980s is, however, that it does not comprise the major reason for demand for Japanese studies.

With the positive growth of the Hong Kong economy, educational opportunities for local people have widened. As a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong is allowed to formulate its own educational policies⁹¹⁹.

⁹¹⁹ Basic Law, art. 136

Japanese studies in Hong Kong, to some extent, benefits from this. For example, the Hong Kong government implemented a new scheme called the Continuing Education Fund (CEF) in 2002 to provide subsidies to people who pursue continuing education so as to prepare Hong Kong's workforce for the knowledge-based economy⁹²⁰. It was first open to any Hong Kong resident aged 18 to 60 without a university degree who enrolled in a reimbursable course, for which 80 per cent of the course fee or HK\$10,000 (whichever sum was less) was reimbursed, and in 2003 the eligibility was extended to degree holders as well⁹²¹. The reimbursable courses were selected from areas including logistics, financial services, China business, tourism, language, design and interpersonal and intrapersonal skills for the workplace⁹²². Initially, about 300 courses were approved as the reimbursable courses⁹²³, but the language courses were limited to Chinese and English to reflect the government's 'bilateral and trilingual' policy. Then in 2004, the coverage of the CEF was extended to French, German and Japanese courses in the domain of language⁹²⁴. The fact that Japanese was included in the CEF had a significant meaning.

“In making the decision, we adhered to the principle that the Fund should be used to subsidise training which would be conducive to the economic development of Hong Kong and as such, only courses from economic sectors with high growth potential and manpower requirement or skill domains where our workforce may be deficient are to be under the CEF”⁹²⁵.

In a sense, Japanese courses gained official status as a potential area which would

⁹²⁰ Continuing Education Fund Website: http://www.sfaa.gov.hk/cef/news_launch.htm accessed on 13 August 2011

⁹²¹ South China Morning Post, 26 July 2003

⁹²² South China Morning Post, 31 May 2002

⁹²³ Ibid.

⁹²⁴ Hong Kong SAR Government press release, 18 January 2004

⁹²⁵ Ibid.

contribute to the economic development of Hong Kong. The inclusion of Japanese courses into the CEF was therefore attractive to people who considered learning Japanese for their career development as well as people who wished to learn it for their personal interest. The financial assistance under the CEF encouraged people to study the approved continuing education courses. In fact, as was mentioned earlier, the survey conducted by the Japan Foundation revealed that the number of Japanese learners in Hong Kong showed a sudden growth in the 2006 survey compared with the 2003 survey. The increase was partly owing to the extension of coverage of the CEF courses. Currently 85 Japanese courses from 25 institutions are listed as the reimbursable courses, ranging from general language courses at private language schools to Higher Diploma or Associate Degree programmes at tertiary institutions⁹²⁶.

Not only has the CEF helped people access continuing education courses, it has also created new job opportunities. For example, as far as Japanese language education is concerned, an introduction of new courses and expansion of existing courses have been observed since the implementation of the CEF⁹²⁷. Accordingly, qualified teachers of Japanese have been in great demand. This has inspired the recent introduction of teacher training programmes at a higher level, such as the MA programme in Japanese Language and Teaching at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the MA in Japanese Language and Culture programme at HKU SPACE. For people who wish to be engaged in the Japanese language education field but who have little teaching experience and no university degrees, a teacher training course has been offered by the Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong⁹²⁸.

By the end of June 2011, over 564,000 applications for the CEF had been approved, of which 200,000 applications were made for language courses, accounting for

⁹²⁶ Continuing Education Fund website: <http://www.sfaa.gov.hk/cef/course.htm> accessed on 13 August 2011

⁹²⁷ South China Morning Post, 16 April 2004

⁹²⁸ Society of Japanese Language Education Hong Kong (2008a)

35 per cent of the total number of applications⁹²⁹. This has made language courses the most popular category of all. The total reimbursement under the CEF has reached nearly HK\$3 billion. Although Japanese courses do not occupy a large portion of the language courses, there is certain effect on the enrolment number of Japanese courses with the implementation of the scheme. It is reported that the estimated number of continuing education learners increased by 40 per cent in two years from about 0.96 million in 2003 to 1.36 million in 2005, which proves the significance of the scheme for many Hong Kong people.

Another new policy in education has affected the demand for Japanese studies. As a part of Hong Kong's educational reform adopting the 3-3-4 system to be implemented in 2012, it was decided to replace the two senior secondary examinations, namely the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination for Form 5 students and the Hong Kong A-levels Examination for Form 7 students, with a single Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE) Examination for Form 6 (to be called Senior Secondary 3) students as an entrance examination for a 4-year degree programme⁹³⁰. In the planning process, it was suggested that non-Chinese speaking students be able to choose one foreign language from French, German, Spanish, Japanese, Urdu and Hindi instead of the Chinese Language subject⁹³¹. Under the policy, the ethnic minority students would be allowed to use a foreign language as an alternative substituting Chinese language, which was compulsory for local students. Schools offering these subjects were eligible to apply for the government's grant to hire teachers⁹³². However, it was expected that not many schools would offer these language subjects due to the limiting condition. Moreover, as far as Japanese is concerned, since the majority of Japanese children living in Hong Kong attend

⁹²⁹ Student Financial Assistance Agency website:
<http://www.sfaa.gov.hk/eng/statistics/cef.htm> accessed on 13 August 2011

⁹³⁰ South China Morning Post, 5 September 2009

⁹³¹ China Daily, 16 September 2006

⁹³² Ibid.

Hong Kong Japanese School, there were very few of them who would study in the Hong Kong school system. As a result, there were very few students who would be eligible to take the Japanese test.

The general entrance requirement for a university degree programme was announced in 2009. It would include 4 core subjects (English Language, Chinese Language, Mathematics and Liberal Studies) and one or two elective subjects⁹³³. It was then confirmed that the six foreign language subjects would be recognized as unspecified elective subjects. It means that even local students could choose Japanese as an elective subject although it could not replace Chinese Language. For example, a student can choose Japanese instead of another elective subject such as Chinese History, Chinese Literature, Biology, Chemistry, Business, Economics or Visual Arts. Although it is not yet known how many students will opt for Japanese, for those who have been learning Japanese with a keen interest in Japanese popular culture or things from Japan, the choice would be worth considering. The increase in the number of secondary schools offering Japanese courses which was mentioned earlier can also be considered to be benefitted by this new policy, because the schools could apply for the government's grant.

The inclusion of Japanese into the HKDSE examination as an elective subject, together with the approval of Japanese courses for the Continuing Education Fund, indicates the position of Japanese language learning in Hong Kong. It is generally considered to be in high demand and of great use. Because it was considered that the skills in Japanese would be practical and useful in Hong Kong society, Japanese courses were selected in the list of the CEF reimbursable courses. In addition, the presence of Japanese feeling familiar especially among the young generation with the flow of Japanese popular culture, Japanese became one of the elective subjects for the HKDSE examination. Consequently learning Japanese was encouraged by the psychological effect of being

⁹³³ Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education leaflet

supported by the government scheme.

During the Period of Expansion of Demand, it was observed that new types of demand for Japanese studies had emerged. Along with ability in Japanese language, more Japanese-related professional knowledge and skills were demanded. This was actualized by the commencement of business-oriented Japanese programmes at the tertiary institutions, even at post-graduate level. It is considered that Japan's position as the third largest trade partner of Hong Kong had some influence on the demand as it meshed with people's pragmatic mentality. However, taking into consideration the fact that Japan's economic situation has not yet fully recovered since the collapse of the bubble economy in the early 1990s, it is very unlikely that such pragmatic motivation was the only driving force of the new demand.

When the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong is taken into consideration, another influence on the demand becomes clear. The Japanese population in Hong Kong has not shown a striking increase in the Period of Expansion of Demand. It has rather been decreasing since Hong Kong's return to China. With the Asian financial crisis that occurred in the late-1990s, many Japanese companies in the region withdrew, and the number of Japanese residents fell accordingly. In this sense, the presence of Japanese became weaker, but in other respects, it became stronger. The penetration of Japanese popular culture was further accelerated in this period through pirated discs and advances in computer technology. Together with this, other Japanese aspects, such as food culture or fashion, entered Hong Kong society. This raised the Japanese presence and enabled people in Hong Kong to feel close to Japan. Surrounded by Japanese influence, Hong Kong people viewed Japanese things that they encountered every day with trust and security. Even though the Japanese economy is still struggling to recover, there has been no negative impact on Hong Kong people's demand for Japanese studies because the strong Japanese presence in the

region supplemented a slightly weakened pragmatic motivation.

The influence of Japanese popular culture was also observed in the demand for Japanese studies from the young generation. Until the 1990s, the demand for Japanese studies in Hong Kong was mainly from adults. This was largely due to the fact that Hong Kong's Japanese studies in their growing period were closely associated with people's pragmatic motivation that it would benefit their career. However, at the turn of the century, the demand from the younger generation including school children became visible. Having grown up watching Japanese anime, reading Japanese comics and listening Japanese popular songs, it is natural for them to have an interest in learning Japanese. Supported by their parents who grew up in the early period of the introduction of Japanese popular culture to Hong Kong society, the demand from this young generation has been rapidly growing.

Another more concrete issue has also affected demand from the school age generation. With the implementation of new educational system, Japanese has become one of six foreign language electives for the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education examination. Given this official status, learning Japanese is no longer simply for fun but has become an academic pursuit which will assist the students' academic and eventual career path. Although the new examination has not yet been implemented, it is anticipated that the demand for Japanese studies in relation to the examination will grow.

In addition, a number of Japanese courses and programmes were approved as reimbursable courses under the Continuing Education Fund. This government fund was originally set up in order to encourage local people to continue their studies to contribute to the development of Hong Kong as a knowledge-based society. In other words, learning Japanese was regarded as a key element for the future development of the society. This will also support people's pragmatic view that Japanese skills would be useful for finding a job.

How the Hong Kong mentality affected the expanded demand for Japanese studies

has so far been analysed. It was revealed that several factors were linked to the demand. Hong Kong people's pragmatic mentality is no longer the only major factor since the strong Japanese presence came into being. People study Japanese not only because they could benefit from the language skills in relation to career prospects, but also because it stimulates their interest. What is behind this trend is the improvement of Hong Kong people's standard of living. People's daily lives have shown a great improvement especially since the 1990s thanks to the booming economy in China. Hong Kong's Gross Domestic Product has shown a three-fold increase in the past 20 years, although it slowed down a little after the Asian financial crisis from 1997. The improvement in living standard alleviated insecurity towards, for example, the future of Hong Kong as a Special Administrative Region. It also broadened the general educational opportunities together with the introduction of the Continuing Education Fund. As the presence of Japanese has been getting stronger in various aspects, the demand for Japanese studies is becoming more diverse at the same time.

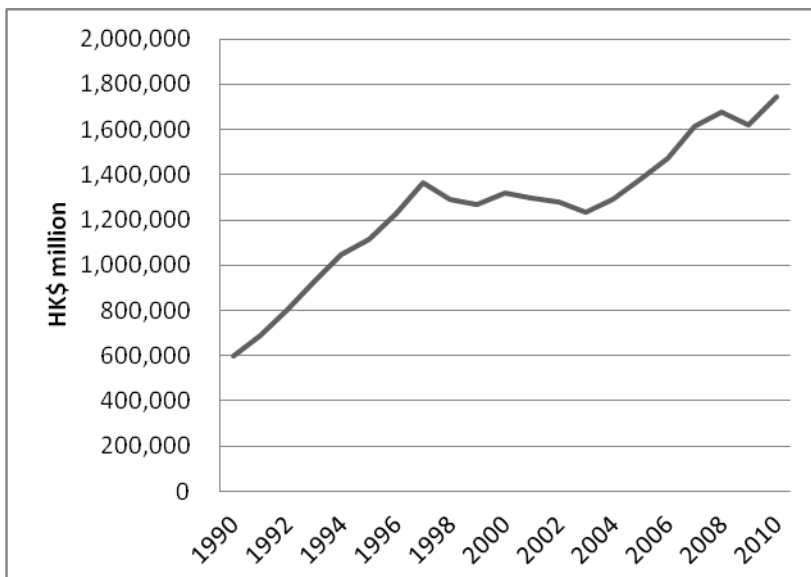


Figure 10.5: Hong Kong's GDP in the past 20 years (in HK\$ million). (Data from Census and Statistics Department (2011))

To summarize, the conclusion can be drawn that Hong Kong people's pragmatic

mentality plays a significant role when their insecurity is strong. This is obvious from the evidence described for the Period of Growth of Demand. However, when their insecure feeling eases, factors other than pragmatism come into play when making decisions. Therefore, during the Period of Expansion of Demand, various kinds of demand that were not observed before gradually emerged. For example, after the Great East Japan Earthquake in March 2011, people's insecure feeling about Japan increased and this affected the tourism industry and other service industries involving Japanese goods. Nevertheless, by August 2011, four months after the disaster, there have been signs of recovery in these industries. Some package tours have resumed to north-eastern Japan, including a stop in Sendai, a city totally flooded by the tsunami⁹³⁴. While some airlines still operate fewer flights to Japan, some travel agencies expect sales of tours during summer to be at about 95 per cent of pre-quake levels, and business is also returning to Japanese restaurants⁹³⁵. What can be derived from this is the fact that the position of Japan has become so significant in the past years to the extent that people regard it as a part of their lives. Hong Kong people's demand for Japanese studies now does not solely depend on pragmatic motivations. The demand for Japanese studies in Hong Kong is therefore expected to be prominent as long as Hong Kong's prosperity continues and Japan's presence in Hong Kong remains strong.

The Hong Kong mentality has been defined as one of insecurity, flexibility and pragmatism. However, as the environment surrounding Hong Kong has changed, people's mentality also gradually changed. Hong Kong is now one of the most influential economic powers in the world. Until the late-1990s, the biggest concern of local people was their life after the handover of sovereignty from the British to the Chinese. Yet, over a decade has passed since then, and the concern is turning into confidence. In this sense, people's insecure feeling has greatly weakened. Therefore, when the growth of Japanese studies

⁹³⁴ South China Morning Post, 3 August 2011

⁹³⁵ Ibid.

during the Period of Expansion of Demand is taken into consideration, the influence of insecurity on the development of Japanese studies is more limited than that during the previous two periods. A sudden increase in the number of learners of Japanese and the examinees of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test in the 2000s did not reflect, for example, the insecure feeling that people had during the outbreak of SARS. The strong presence of Japan in Hong Kong prevented a decrease in demand for Japanese studies from occurring. As Hong Kong people's insecurity has weakened, it is anticipated that the demand for Japanese studies in future will continue to be strong. There will of course be ups and downs in Hong Kong-Japanese economic relations, but they should not have a sudden direct impact on demand.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has defined the Hong Kong mentality and examined how the demand for Japanese studies in Hong Kong has grown. It has analyzed how the Hong Kong mentality affected the development of Japanese studies in different periods when the demand was lacking, growing and expanding. Below is an overview of findings and observations that this thesis has made.

In this thesis, the mentality of Hong Kong people was characterised as insecure, pragmatic and flexible. These characteristics were analysed by considering the unique history of Hong Kong. The experiences of being a British colony, under Japanese occupation and impact from events and situations on the mainland, collectively formed the unique background of Hong Kong society, and contributed to the make-up of the Hong Kong people.

Insecurity was considered first by exploring the life of local Chinese under the British colonial system. The Chinese were treated unequally compared with the British and other Europeans. It was evidenced by the fact that several discriminatory laws were in force under which the Chinese could not go out freely during the night time, could not live in certain areas reserved for the Europeans and could no longer practise social customs they had long had. As they did not have proper representation in the colonial government, the Chinese were made to feel inferior and that in turn brought out a strong sense of insecurity under the colonial government.

People's insecure feeling was also engendered by the situation in mainland China. The instability of China from the mid-nineteenth century occasionally caused influxes of refugees into Hong Kong. As many of these refugees chose to stay in Hong Kong, a majority of Hong Kong population came to be composed of those living with insecurity.

Even though they decided to reside in Hong Kong, it did not necessarily mean that their living environment improved dramatically. Those who fled from the mainland with hopes of a better living condition had to endure severe hardship. Therefore their feeling of insecurity did not disappear.

Repeated wars and conflicts that directly and indirectly involved Hong Kong brought instability and uneasiness to local people. Many had actually fled China because of political instability, and sometimes they left Hong Kong to return to the mainland. By going back and forth in such a situation, the feeling of insecurity amongst the local Chinese further strengthened. It was during the World War II when the highest level of insecurity was observed. The occupation by the Japanese had a significant impact on Hong Kong people's feeling of insecurity.

The living condition of Hong Kong people, especially during the early stage of the colonial era, also brought a sense of insecurity. Frequent influxes of refugees from mainland China created crowded conditions in the areas the Chinese resided. The sanitary condition was therefore unsatisfactory in those areas, which resulted in outbreaks of diseases. The spread of the plague in the late-nineteenth century, for example, took thousands of lives. Hong Kong was still relatively weak against natural disasters such as typhoons or rain storms. This was also a cause of insecurity.

Pragmatism naturally emerged against this background of insecurity. In the early days of Hong Kong, the opium trade was a major economic activity. As the local Chinese were living a hard life, the involvement in the smuggling was one way to escape from dissatisfactory living conditions. From this period, local people began to develop the concept that they had to take care of themselves by earning money as the colonial government did not help much. In fact, some Chinese merchants who paid more income tax than Europeans came to be seen in the late-nineteenth century, which implies that some wealthy Chinese had appeared by then. This raised people's pragmatic motivation even

further.

Through this, people came to value the pragmatic approach when making decisions. The fact that an English education was demanded by school children's parents exemplifies the situation. Under the British colonial government, it was considered that ability in English would increase career opportunities. English-medium schools were therefore more in demand. With the gradual expansion of educational opportunities, vernacular education was extended so that more local Chinese could receive education. However, there remained a strong preference for English-medium schools.

People's flexibility played an important role in the development of Hong Kong society. As the Chinese basically did not have ways to reflect their opinions or demands in the colonial administration, they had to live in the environment they were given. In such circumstances, their survival depended on flexibility in adapting to different policies or opinions. Through various changes, people's flexibility has become stronger and an integral part of their mentality.

The identity of Hong Kong people has also contributed to strengthening their flexibility. Until the 1950s, the local Chinese did not have a fixed identity as Hongkongers since they were able to move freely between Hong Kong and the mainland. As they did not strictly belong to Hong Kong, they were not constrained by any fixed viewpoint. This created a flexible mind-set in general conduct, and decision making in particular. If their life in Hong Kong did not satisfy them, they always had the option to go back to the mainland. This life-style contributed significantly to forming the Hong Kong mentality.

With the change in policy on cross-border movement, the concept of being Hongkongers gradually emerged. It was done by differentiating themselves from the Chinese in the mainland, which created a sense of superiority given Hong Kong's social and economic development. Nonetheless, they were ethnically Chinese even under the British colonial administration. This complicated situation was also behind their flexibility.

A sense of superiority that Hong Kong people once had over the Chinese in the mainland has been showing a gradual change especially since Hong Kong's return to China. The Chinese from the mainland are currently Hong Kong's major economic partner. It is, for example, the mainland Chinese who spend much more money than any other nation when visiting Hong Kong. It is not exaggerating to say that the economy of Hong Kong would collapse without Chinese investment. This situation has changed Hong Kong people's attitude. As Hong Kong's business opportunities have been widely expanded with the economic development of China, Hong Kong people did not hesitate to make use of this chance. Their pragmatism and flexibility are clearly observed from this too.

Thus, insecurity, pragmatism and flexibility are considered to be major characteristics of the mentality of Hong Kong people. Yet, as the environment surrounding Hong Kong people changed, their mentality is changing. In particular, people's sense of insecurity is getting weaker since the handover of sovereignty to China. Their feeling of insecurity was at its peak just before 1997 as they could not foresee the result of returning to China. However, Hong Kong has benefited from China's rapid economic growth since then. As one of the major concerns is gone, the insecurity in people's mind has gradually started dissipating. The economic development of Hong Kong has changed people's mentality.

As it is considered that people's mentality affects their decision making, it was assumed that there should be certain influences of the Hong Kong mentality on the development of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. In order to examine the effect, the development of Japanese studies was divided into three periods according to the change in demand for Japanese studies.

The Period of Low Demand was defined as the period from the establishment of Hong Kong as a British colony to the 1950s. Very little demand for Japanese studies was

observed during this time. Nonetheless, there were certain occasions on which Japanese studies drew some attention in Hong Kong. It was found that the demand for Japanese studies in this period came from the officials of Hong Kong administration, not from the general public.

For the first half century of British-governed Hong Kong, there was no prominent demand for Japanese studies. The main reason for this was considered to be the weak presence of Japanese in Hong Kong. The number of Japanese residents was only a few hundreds and the Hong Kong-Japan economic tie was still weak. In addition, Hong Kong itself had a number of difficulties such as crowded living caused by Chinese refugees, epidemics and lack of educational opportunities for the local Chinese. No interest in Japanese studies therefore emerged under this situation.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the learning of Japanese commenced among some civil servants. At around the same period, a Japanese instructor was requested by the British Navy to conduct Japanese lessons for naval officers. These are considered to be some of the first cases. The background of these cases that occurred at the official level was the growing importance of Japan for Britain. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the most obvious evidence to show the ties between the two countries. Anticipating that the importance of Japan would increase with the treaty, the demand for Japanese studies emerged in Hong Kong's administration. It is also considered that information gathering functioned as a strong motivation behind the officers' training in Japanese. It was further evidenced by the fact that a language study allowance was granted by the Hong Kong government for the learning of Japanese. It proves that Japanese learning was encouraged at government level.

However, at the general public level, the demand for Japanese studies was almost invisible. The official relations between Britain and Japan had very little to do with local people. They were still struggling to achieve and maintain basic comforts if not necessities

of life. In the time when even the secondary education was difficult to achieve, no interest in Japanese arose. It was simply unaffordable and there was no strong motivation for the learning of Japanese as little benefit was to be expected.

Thus, behind the lack of demand for Japanese studies in this period, people's insecure feelings and pragmatic way of thinking were key contributing factors. Their life was still full of insecurity in terms of politics, economy and society. In addition, there was no pragmatic value in learning Japanese at that time.

Another wave of Japanese studies during the Period of Low Demand was observed under the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong. The Japanese military administration enforced the use of Japanese in school education. Under this policy, all teachers were obliged to obtain a qualification in Japanese by attending a teacher training course. Not only these teachers, but also the public were encouraged to learn Japanese and courses in Japanese were offered through newspapers or radio programmes. Public tests in Japanese were also organized for encouragement. The number of Japanese learners naturally increased given this situation.

However, the demand for Japanese studies during the Japanese occupation again did not come from the public's interest but from the military administration. It was initiated and controlled by them. Nevertheless, the Japanese language education during this period was carried out on a large scale and involved a large number of local Chinese. The reason behind this was the pragmatic way of thinking of Hong Kong people. Not knowing how long the Japanese occupation would last, it was thought that skills in the Japanese language might put them in a better position. For school teachers, it was required to attend the course in order to continue their teaching job. Whether they liked it or not, they had to learn Japanese. For others, Japanese language skills broadened job opportunities as the number of Japanese-speaking posts increased.

By analysing the development of Japanese studies under the Japanese occupation,

the influence of the Hong Kong mentality is clearly observed. First of all, people had a strong sense of insecurity in this period. Not only had the British surrendered in a surprisingly short time, but also Hong Kong was then placed under Japanese military administration. Although the Japanese occupational government used the propaganda of establishing a Far East Co-prosperity Sphere, people's lives got worse and worse. Prices went up, and food stuffs often ran short. Dissatisfaction towards the occupational government naturally became strong.

Under such circumstances, people did not have an interest in learning Japanese as it was the language of the enemy. However, their pragmatism played a significant role in overriding this. As it was realized that learning Japanese was one possibility of enjoying a better living, many people did not hesitate to take the opportunity. Having done so, it was also possible to reduce their insecure feeling. Without their pragmatic motivation, Japanese language education during this period would not have been on such a large scale.

Thus, people's flexible mind made them choose to learn the language regardless of their lack of interest in it. Hong Kong people sought the best possible way to improve their living standard. Therefore, even though the Japanese occupational government brought them hardships and difficulties, they were willing to learn the language as it was thought to provide better job opportunities.

The demand for Japanese studies during the Period of Low Demand is characterized as a demand created from the official level. There was lack of public interest in Japanese because of the weak presence of Japanese in Hong Kong and the insecurity people possessed. When there was no pragmatic driving force in relation to Japanese, no demand was raised from the general public. On the other hand, when learning Japanese provided career opportunities, the demand emerged even without a particular interest in the language itself. However, as soon as the pragmatic motivation was lost, the demand rapidly disappeared. That is why the demand for Japanese studies did not last after the end of the

Japanese occupation.

The Period of Growth of Demand was defined as a period when the demand for Japanese studies appeared from the general public's interest. After World War II, no prominent demand was observed due to the very weak presence of Japanese for over a decade. Then with a gradual increase of the Japanese residents in Hong Kong, together with the appearance of Japanese companies, restaurants and department stores, Japanese language learning started to attract interest. What differed from the previous situation in the Period of Low Demand was that the demand came from the general public. Responding to the demand, Japanese courses began to be offered at private language schools, a language school under the cultural division of Consulate-General of Japan, extra-mural studies departments at universities and tertiary institutions from the 1960s, and the number of courses available dramatically increased in the mid-1970s. The period from the 1960s to the mid-1970s was characterized as the emergence of Japanese studies in Hong Kong, while that from the mid-1970s to the 1980s was defined as the period with a growth of Japanese studies.

As early as the beginning of 1960s, some language schools opened Japanese courses. However, at that point, the demand was still small and the number of learners was limited. Even in the community services sector, Japanese courses were made available from the 1960s, but the situation was similar. The Department of Extra-mural Studies of the University of Hong Kong started a Japanese course in 1965 as well. Yet, until a course commenced at the Department of Extra-mural Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1973, the demand for Japanese studies was not particularly prominent.

From the time the Japanese course started at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the situation started to change. The successful operation of radio and television programme of Japanese learning prepared by the Japanese section indicated the demand for

Japanese studies was growing rapidly. It was around this time that the first Japanese-major programme at the tertiary level was implemented. The commencement of Higher Diploma programmes in Japanese at the Hong Kong Polytechnic was a clear indication that the increasing demand had been recognized by that time.

Then a rapid development in the Japanese studies followed. The establishment of Department of Japanese Studies at the University of Hong Kong laid a strong foundation for the field of Japanese studies in Hong Kong. At City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, a Japanese course was combined with a business course. At private language schools too, a boom in Japanese learning was observed. The number of Japanese learners accordingly increased especially in the 1980s.

One of the characteristics of Japanese studies during this period was that a majority of learners were adult and there was very little demand from school children. This was largely due to the lack of reasons for them to learn Japanese. In the 1960s, when the demand for Japanese studies gradually appeared, the educational opportunities for Hong Kong people were still relatively low. In addition, the presence of Japanese was weak although the number of Japanese residents was showing an increase. In such circumstances, Japanese was not the first priority. At that time, people's insecure feeling was still strong as the economy of Hong Kong was only in the process of improvement. When insecurity was felt strongly, pragmatic value was considered important. Since there was no pragmatic motivation for learning Japanese, demand was low.

A change was then observed from the mid-1970s. The demand for Japanese studies became more prominent and various Japanese courses commenced during this period. What made this happen was the fact that the presence of Japanese came to be felt increasingly by Hong Kong people. The number of Japanese residents grew rapidly as more and more Japanese companies set up their offices in Hong Kong. In addition to that, Japanese existence was more closely felt with the openings of Japanese department stores,

supermarkets, restaurants, and so on. Television, which was becoming a common entertainment, also contributed to raising the existence of Japanese since Hong Kong's broadcasting relied heavily on programmes created in Japan.

Hong Kong's economy was growing fast in this period through the industrialization that occurred in the 1970s. With the well-performing economy, living standards improved and the educational opportunities were widened. This coincided with the growth of a Japanese presence, and the demand for Japanese studies rose. The strong economy not only weakened people's insecurity mentality, but also affected their pragmatism. As the Hong Kong-Japanese economic relations became stronger, Japanese-speaking personnel were demanded. Japanese learning was therefore associated with pragmatic value.

On the other hand, the improvement of living condition enabled people to study courses according to their interest. This rarely happened when the insecurity was strongly felt, so this is considered as one of the characteristics of the demand. Because Japanese had been one of the most easily accessible foreign languages in the daily life of Hong Kong people through, for example, television viewing or buying daily products, it naturally became a common option to be chosen.

Thus during the Period of Growth of Demand, there were significant differences in terms of people's perception of Japan from the Period of Low Demand. There were no pragmatic motivations for Japanese learning in the Period of Low Demand, but there was a clear motivation in the Period of Growth of Demand, reflecting the strong presence of Japanese in Hong Kong society. It was also considered that the Japanese language skills might provide people with more job opportunities. Pragmatism was the key element that affected the rapid development of Japanese studies.

The Period of Expansion of Demand refers to the period from the 1990s to the

present. Japanese studies in Hong Kong showed a further expansion during this period. The number of Japanese learners expanded from about 10,000 at the beginning of the 1990s to exceeding 30,000 in the 2000s. The increase accelerated especially in the 2000s.

The rapid expansion was largely owing to the commencement of different types of Japanese courses that were not previously seen. First of all, at the tertiary education, there were several changes occurring. Degree programmes majoring in Japanese studies were implemented at the beginning of 1990s. These programmes were offered through the Department of Japanese Studies both at the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The fact that these two leading universities in Hong Kong established an independent department of Japanese studies and offered a Japanese-major programme implied official recognition of the growing demand. Then other degree-level programmes in which Japanese courses were combined with business elements followed at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University and City University of Hong Kong.

At the sub-degree level, a higher degree programme in applied Japanese studies opened at the late-1990s. The implementation of such a programme in which the Japanese language ability was applied to various practical skills proved that Hong Kong's Japanese studies went into a new stage of development. Japanese courses no longer just provided a foundation but aimed to enhance learners' skills at a higher level.

These new movements in the 1990s became the foundation for the rapid expansion in the following decade. The most prominent development in the 2000s was the implementation of postgraduate programmes in Japanese. After the successful launch of a Postgraduate Diploma programme at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, not only was it upgraded to a Master's degree, but also another two MA programmes followed. They were offered in a part-time mode in order to meet the demand from those who were in full-time employment. This indicates that a high level of Japanese came to be required in Hong Kong's workplaces.

There was a new development at the sub-degree sector as well. A number of Associate Degree programmes in Japanese or Japanese-related discipline started. With this development, most of Hong Kong's tertiary institutions were involved in Japanese studies in various ways, from elective elementary courses to Master's degree programmes. A range of Japanese studies widened in tertiary education in this manner, which contributed to the rapid expansion.

The same trend was observed in the private language schools. There was stable growth during the 1990s mainly in the area of adult education. However, a significant development took place in the 2000s. Until then, Hong Kong's Japanese studies were undertaken mostly by adult learners and students at the tertiary institutions. Then the new generation, that is, secondary and primary school students entered the scene. As the demand from this generation grew, courses specifically designed for them were introduced at language schools. At first, these courses were realized as a summer course for the convenience of the students who were usually occupied by school study and activities during the school term. Then, longer courses such as a two-year certificate course at the Japanese Language Course under the Japan Information & Cultural Centre of the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong began. As the longer courses obviously aimed at higher Japanese language skills, they were different from interest classes like the most of summer courses. This implies that there was a very strong motivation for learning Japanese for these school generations.

This trend coincided with the adoption of Japanese in the school curriculum at some secondary schools. Some schools made Japanese a compulsory subject while others added it as an extra-curricular activity. No matter which mode it was, this new stream in Japanese studies too, together with the trend in language schools, contributed much to the expansion. The expansion of demand in the school generation was supported and encouraged by the Japanese education sector. Evidences of these include the publication of

a textbook designed for Hong Kong secondary school students and the introduction of a secondary school students' speech contest.

The expansion of demand for Japanese studies to various dimensions characterized the development during this period. Especially the emergence of demand from the school generation drew the attention of the Japanese education sector. As Japanese studies in Hong Kong hitherto mostly took shape as adult education, the new area had great potential for further development.

During the Period of Growth of Demand, Hong Kong's Japanese education, which was occupied by adult learners, developed as a result of a strong sense of pragmatism. The growth in the presence of Japanese in Hong Kong brought various opportunities for which Japanese language skills became beneficial. An emergence of different motivations to learn Japanese was observed, however, during the Period of Expansion of Demand.

First of all, the sense of insecurity which hitherto characterised the Hong Kong mentality has greatly weakened since the 1990s. The great improvements in living standards thanks to the fast economic growth were the major reasons. In addition, life in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region did not disappoint people so much as they had anticipated before the handover of sovereignty. This has greatly eased people's minds and helped dissipate the sense of insecurity.

The reduction of insecure feeling removed the necessity of a pragmatic driving force from people's mind. In other words, pragmatic motivations were not necessarily required for decision-making. This was proved by the fact that a number of people started to learn Japanese simply out of interest rather than for practical gain. This type of learner did exist even in the 1980s; they always had some pragmatic motivation, for example, to obtain a certificate or pass the proficiency test for their self-development. In contrast, a variety of Japanese studies courses that are currently offered, such as Kansai dialect class, Japanese *sake* appreciation and flower arrangement, meet diversified demand from various

groups of people.

The emergence of demand for Japanese studies among school students also proves that pragmatism does not always comprise the learning motivations as many of these young learners choose Japanese out of interest. This generation who grew up watching Japanese *anime*, reading Japanese comics, or listening to Japanese popular songs, had an inbuilt interest in learning the language. Obviously they are relatively free from the insecurity since they have not experienced the hardship their parents' generation did. Of course, some of these students have other reasons for learning Japanese. For example, Japanese is one of elective subjects at the newly-implemented Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education Examinations. Taking the Japanese examination may give an advantage to the entrance qualification for university programmes. Nevertheless, as the number of students who would take the Japanese examination is estimated to be small, this cannot explain the sudden and rapid expansion of demand from this group of learners.

What supported this new demand was the introduction of various kinds of Japanese media contents especially of popular culture. These enabled the young generation to feel that Japan was one of the closest countries to them. An interest in learning the language thus arose.

The strong presence of Japanese affected not only the youngsters but also adults. Many of them had been familiar with Japan since the 1970s through television, or products that came from Japan. In addition, the ease of tourist visa issuance to Japan made the country one of the most popular travel destinations. Japan has literally become a neighbour for Hong Kong people.

It may be concluded from this that insecurity is no longer an important factor to affecting people's decision-making. With this background, the role of pragmatism has also been changing. While it still affects the demand for Japanese studies to some extent, it is not necessarily an element that must be taken into account. Japan's closeness drew people's

attention even without pragmatic motivation. People's pragmatism had been a significant and essential factor when considering the demand for Japanese studies in the past. In the current environment, however, pragmatism is not the most dominant element amongst competing motivations for undertaking Japanese learning. They flexibly make decisions taking these factors into consideration. This is why the demand for Japanese studies showed a rapid expansion during the 2000s even though the number of Japanese companies withdrawing from Hong Kong increased, which reduced the pragmatic value for learning Japanese.

This thesis has examined the effect of the Hong Kong mentality on the development of Japanese studies. The insecure part of Hong Kong's mentality had a significant influence during the Period of Low Demand and the Period of Growth of Demand. People's sense of insecurity prevented the demand for Japanese studies from growing. What differentiated these two periods was people's pragmatism. When no pragmatic value was seen in learning Japanese, there was no opportunity for the demand to emerge. On the other hand, with the increasing presence of Japanese in Hong Kong society during the Period of Growth of Demand, people recognized the pragmatic value, which led to the emergence and growth of demand. Then the improvement of living standard and the stability after Hong Kong's return to China reduced people's feeling of insecurity considerably. This enabled people to have stronger flexibility. Therefore the demand for Japanese studies showed great expansion even without a strong pragmatic value for it. What is revealed from these is the extent to which each of the Hong Kong mentality affects varied depending on the environment of the time and that the Hong Kong mentality itself changes according to the situation. It is anticipated that insecurity as a core part of the mentality will fade out if the development and prosperity of Hong Kong continues. Instead, other factors may comprise the new mentality of Hong Kong people. How the mentality

changes and how it will affect the demand for Japanese studies in future will require some attention from the Japanese education sector in Hong Kong.

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